

OCT 10 1941

\$1.50 A COPY

\$6.00 A YEAR

ART IN AMERICA

AN ILLUSTRATED QUARTERLY MAGAZINE

(Founded in 1913 by FREDERIC FAIRCHILD SHERMAN)

JEAN LIPMAN, *Editor*

JOHN D. POND, *Business Manager*

Editorial Board

WALTER W. S. COOK
SIRARPIE DER NERSESSIAN

GEORGE W. ELDERKIN
FRANK JEWETT MATHER, JR.

ULRICH MIDDELDORF

CHARLES R. MOREY

AGNES RINDGE

THEODORE SIZER

VOL. 29

OCTOBER 1941

NO. 4

Contents

THE BEGINNINGS OF ANDREA DAL CASTAGNO

By GEORGE MARTIN RICHTER

Page 177

A BRONZE DAVID BY FRANCESCO DI GIORGIO IN THE FRICK COLLECTION

By W. R. VALENTINER

Page 200

A FRAGMENT OF AN ATTIC DINOS

By F. P. JOHNSON

Page 208

A ŠIVA NATARAJA IN THE MUSEUM OF THE RHODE ISLAND SCHOOL OF DESIGN

By ALVAN C. EASTMAN

Page 216

A VERSION OF J.-C. MARIN'S BATHER

By MARVIN CHAUNCEY ROSS

Page 222

NOTE AND COMMENT

SHORTER NOTICES by ALAN BURROUGHS, JEAN LIPMAN,
HARRY G. SPERLING, FRANK JEWETT MATHER, JR.,
and the late FREDERIC FAIRCHILD SHERMAN

Page 227

THE OPENING EXHIBITION OF THE SANTA BARBARA MUSEUM

Reviewed by LYLA MARSHALL HARCOFF

Page 235

NEW ART BOOKS, reviewed by GEORGE M. A. HANFMANN,
ULRICH MIDDELDORF, JOHN HILL MORGAN,
and JULIUS S. HELD

Page 236

Published at 11 ANDREW STREET, SPRINGFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS
Manuscripts and Books for Review should be addressed to the Editor,
Cannondale, Conn.; all other communications to the Springfield office.
Entered as second-class matter April 28, 1936, at the post office at Springfield, Mass., under
the Act of March 3, 1879. Printed in the United States of America.

THESE SHERMAN PUBLICATIONS

will be offered for a short time at the following
greatly reduced prices

Valentiner: The Late Years of Michel Angelo.....	7.50
Valentiner: Jacques Louis David and the French Revolution.....	12.50
Valentiner: Paintings of Frans Hals in America.....	15.00
Offner: Studies in Florentine Painting.....	15.00
Ely: Modern Tendency in American Painting.....	5.00
Sherman: Landscape and Figure Painters of America.....	4.00
Sherman: Early American Portraiture	10.75
Sherman: Albert Pinkham Ryder	20.00
Sherman: American Painters of Yesterday and Today.....	4.00
Sherman-Lipman: Richard Jennys: New England Portrait Painter.....	10.00
Cox: Winslow Homer	15.00
Mather: Homer Martin	15.00
Fifty-eight Paintings by Homer Martin	15.00
Clark: Alexander Wyant.....	15.00
Sixty Paintings by Alexander Wyant.....	15.00
Fifty Paintings by George Inness.....	15.00
Clark: John H. Twachtman.....	15.00
Clark: J. Francis Murphy	15.00
Daingerfield: Ralph Albert Blakelock.....	10.00
London: Shades of My Forefathers.....	10.00

ART IN AMERICA, Book Dept., 11 Andrew St., Springfield, Mass.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC.,

Required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912, and March 3, 1933, of Art in America, published quarterly at Springfield, Mass., for October 1, 1941

State of Massachusetts }
County of Hampden }

ss.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared John D. Pond, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Publisher and Manager of ART IN AMERICA and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, and business manager are:

Name of —

Post Office address —

Publisher, JOHN D. POND
Editor, JEAN LIPMAN
Business Manager, JOHN D. POND

11 Andrew St., Springfield, Mass.
Weston Road, Cannondale, Conn.
11 Andrew St., Springfield, Mass.

2. That the owner is JULIA MUNSON SHERMAN, 255 Kings Highway, Westport, Conn.
3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.
4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

JOHN D. POND, Publisher, Business Manager

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 18th day of September, 1941.

EVA A. BROWN

Notary Public, Hampden County, Mass.
(My commission expires November 28, 1946.)

Readers are requested to mention ART IN AMERICA in communicating with advertisers



FIG. 1. CASTAGNO: MADONNA AND CHILD. CENTRAL PANEL OF ALTARPIECE
Private Collection, New York

ART IN AMERICA

AN ILLUSTRATED QUARTERLY MAGAZINE

VOLUME XXIX

OCTOBER, 1941

NUMBER 4



THE BEGINNINGS OF ANDREA DAL CASTAGNO

By GEORGE MARTIN RICHTER
New York City

In nineteenth century handbooks the date of Andrea's birth is usually given as 1390, but in 1922 Signor Poggi published several documents from which we learn that Andrea was actually born in 1423.¹ As we know that he died in 1457 he reached — like Giorgione — an age of only thirty-four years.

The new date of Andrea's birth is apt to revolutionize our former conception of his career and his place in the evolution of Florentine painting. He did not belong to the generation of Fra Angelico, Paolo Uccello and Masaccio, and he must have been younger than Fra Filippo Lippi and Piero della Francesca. We must now place him in the same generation with Benozzo Gozzoli, Francesco Pesellino, Alesso Baldovinetti, and Antonio del Pollaiuolo, all of whom were born during the twenties. The main point is that Andrea dal Castagno really belongs to the second generation of the great Florentine quattrocento painters and not to the first.

The new date also helps to clarify the problem of Castagno's beginnings.

¹Poggi in *Rivista d'Arte*, 1929, p. 46.

COPYRIGHT 1941 BY JULIA MUNSON SHERMAN

As long as we believed that Andrea was born in 1390 or 1410, as van Marle still did, there was a gap of ten or more years in his career about which we knew absolutely nothing.² Now the situation is different. From the documents which Signor Poggi published we know that in 1437 the young Andrea was still with his father, who was then living in the little village of Castagno in the Mugello. The commission to paint the rebels, which Vasari mentions, was probably given — according to Poggi — during the latter part of 1440. Andrea would then have been seventeen years old. In 1442, the date of the frescos in San Zaccaria in Venice, he would have been nineteen years old. The gap that existed is now almost completely closed. However, I think it is possible to connect Andrea's name with two other works which evidently belong to the earliest period of his activities: certain frescos at Castiglione Olona and an altarpiece in a private collection.

We know that Masolino painted a series of frescos in the Collegiata at Castiglione Olona. Besides, there are two cycles of frescos depicting scenes from the lives of Santo Stefano and San Lorenzo in the Collegiata. These latter frescos doubtless betray the influence of Masolino, but the painter, or painters, of these frescos is not known. In recent years parts of these frescos have been attributed to Paolo Schiavo by Dr. Richard Offner and Professor Mario Salmi.³ Crowe and Cavalcaselle already recognized certain Castagnesque features in some of these frescos.⁴ They and several other writers were inclined to explain these Castagnesque features by assuming that one of the painters must have been a follower of Andrea dal Castagno. This theory, plausible as it sounds, could be seriously sustained only if it were possible to place the date of these frescos considerably later than Masolino's frescos, which Salmi places between 1432 and 1435. Schmarsow believed that the other frescos on the walls of the Collegiata must have been painted between 1436 and 1442, and similarly Professor Salmi dated them between 1435 and 1440.⁵ If these dates are approximately correct, and I believe they are, then it would not make sense to speak of a follower of Castagno taking part in the decoration of the walls of the Collegiata, as in 1440 Castagno was only seventeen years old. There seems to be only one

²van Marle, *The Italian Schools of Painting*, Vol. X, 335.

³R. Offner, *Italian Primitives at Yale University*, New Haven, 1927, p. 26. This book also contains Dr. Offner's reconstruction of Paolo Schiavo. M. Salmi, *Gli Affreschi nella Collegiata di Castiglione Olona, Dedalo*, 1928, p. 3. Salmi reproduces all the frescoes on the walls of the Collegiata.

⁴Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *A History of Painting in Italy*, edited by L. Douglas and G. da Nicola, London, 1911, Vol. IV, p. 19, "All these frescoes are not from the hand of Masolino, but by two other Tuscan painters, one of whom strives to follow the artistic ideals of Andrea dal Castagno."

⁵Schmarsow, *Masaccio — Studien I*, Kassel, 1900, p. 81.



FIG. 2. CASTAGNO: S. LORENZO AND EMPEROR DECIVS
Collegiata, Castiglione Olona



FIG. 3. CASTAGNO: MARTYRDOM OF S. LORENZO. DETAIL
Collegiata, Castiglione Olona



FIG. 4. CASTAGNO: S. LORENZO BAPTISING A YOUNG MAN. DETAIL
Collegiata, Castiglione Olona



FIG. 5. CASTAGNO: SELF-PORTRAIT (?)
Collegiata, Castiglione Olona



FIG. 6. CASTAGNO: HEAD OF AN ANGEL. DETAIL OF PAZZI ALTARPIECE
Formerly Castello del Trebbio

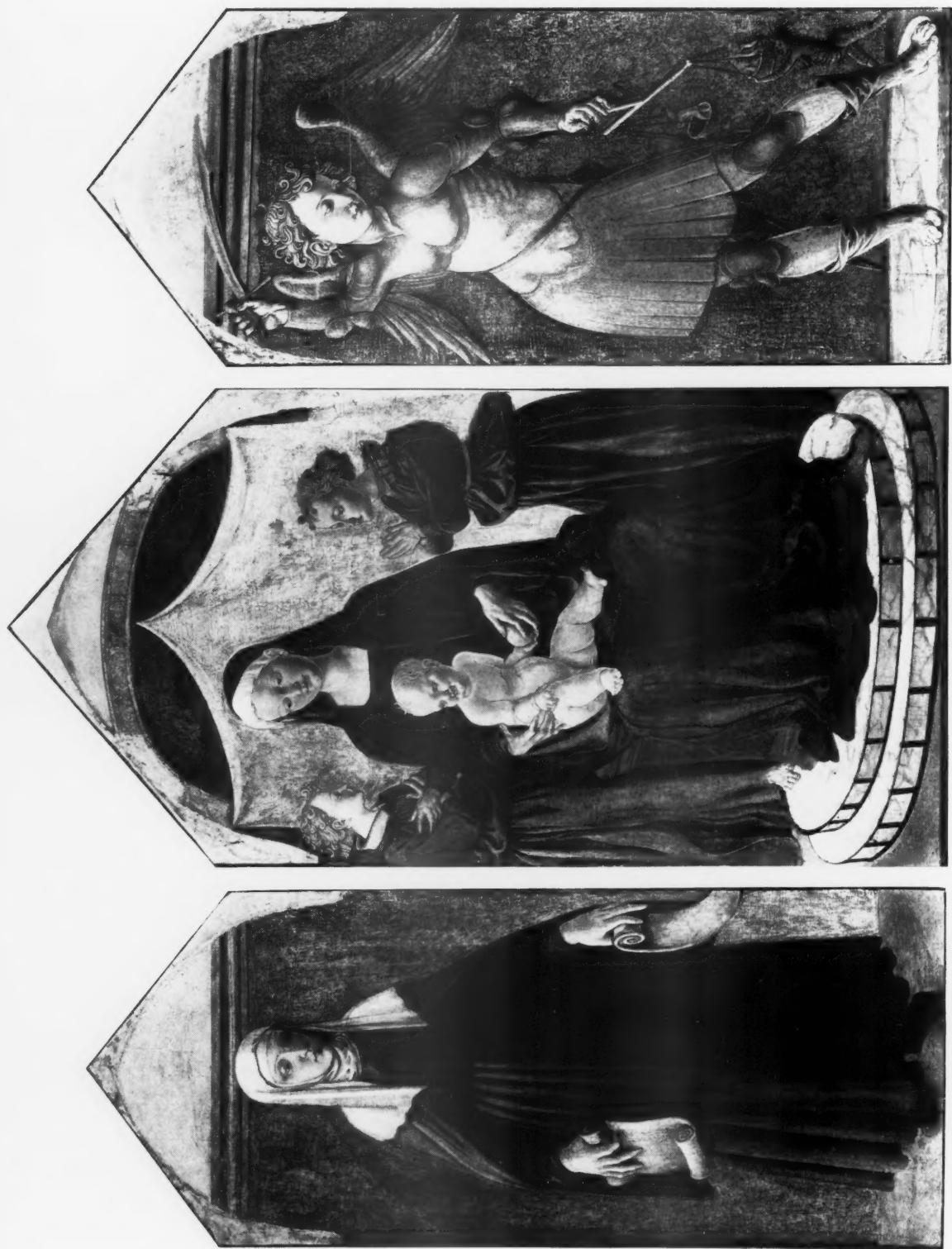


FIG. 7. CASTAGNO: TRIPTYCH — MADONNA, ST. MICHAEL AND ST. BRIDGET
Private Collection, New York

logical inference to be drawn, i. e., that the painter who is responsible for the Castagnesque character of some of these frescos could have been nobody but the young Andrea himself.

The greater part of these frescos, however, is obviously by another master, probably by Paolo Schiavo, as suggested by Dr. Offner; but whereas Dr. Offner connected Paolo Schiavo especially with the San Lorenzo story, I recognize his style more clearly in the frescos depicting the story of Santo Stefano. This similarity of style becomes obvious especially when we compare the *Lapidation of St. Stephen* with the *Adoration of the Magi* in the Oratorio della Querce at Monticelli, which, in my opinion, has been correctly attributed to Paolo Schiavo by Signor Salmi.⁶ It is not easy to draw a straight line between Paolo Schiavo's part and Andrea's. Very likely Paolo Schiavo was commissioned to paint these frescos, possibly on the recommendation of Masolino, and the young Andrea helped him only as an assistant. However, in certain frescos I think we can recognize the hand of the young Andrea. In the scene depicting St. Lawrence baptizing a young man, the two figures of young men at the left (Fig. 4), show all the characteristics of Andrea's modeling. Then again I think we can recognize Andrea's hand in the figure standing in front of the *Burial of St. Lawrence*; quite distinctly again in the group of figures showing St. Lawrence standing before the Emperor Decius (Fig. 2), and finally in the heads of the witnesses and the head of the old torturer in the *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence* (Fig. 3).

In the heads and figures which I have pointed out we notice not only very great resemblances in the types to those of Andrea's but also identical modeling of many details, and a much greater three-dimensional volume of the bodies than in the rest of the figures.

However, the assumption that Andrea himself must be held responsible for the Castagnesque features in these frescos rests upon the early date suggested by Professor Salmi; and the theory of the early date again depends, at least to some extent, on Dr. Offner's theory that the greater part of these frescos was painted by Paolo Schiavo. If we compare the style of the San Lorenzo and Santo Stefano frescos with the style of the certain works of Paolo Schiavo, I think we must agree that there are sufficient connecting links between both groups of paintings. But if Paolo Schiavo can actually be identified with the fresco painter of Castiglione Olona then we must conclude that the Castiglione frescos are of an earlier date than the

⁶Salmi, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

Crucifixion in Sant'Apollonia in Florence.⁷ The style of the *Crucifixion* is much smoother and the composition better balanced. As the *Crucifixion* is dated 1440 it would seem correct to place Paolo Schiavo's activities at Castiglione Olona between 1435 and 1440. The theory that the young Andrea helped Paolo as assistant in Castiglione Olona finds further support in certain similarities of Paolo's style of drapery with Andrea's. In Paolo Schiavo's early fresco of 1423 in San Miniato (see Fig. 11) we already find certain curious elements in the modeling of the drapery with which Andrea's style can be connected; and even some of the heads in this fresco, especially the head of St. John the Baptist, look like prototypes of Castagno's heads. Paolo's drapery style shows in some of the Castiglione frescos certain elements which seem to lead to Andrea's style. I am therefore inclined to believe that the young Andrea first became a pupil of Paolo Schiavo and that he then accompanied Paolo to Castiglione Olona and there helped him as his assistant. If we should, however, try to explain the Castagnesque features in the frescos at Castiglione Olona by ascribing them to Paolo Schiavo, it would then remain inexplicable that in his later works Paolo does not reveal a continuance of these Castagnesque tendencies.

The portrait of a young man looking out of a window, in the Collegiata, has been ascribed by Professor Salmi to Paolo Schiavo (Fig. 5). The portrait shows the features of a young beardless man, probably younger than twenty. Paolo Schiavo must have been at least thirty years old when this fresco was painted. It therefore cannot be a self-portrait of Paolo as Signor Salmi suggested. On the other hand, I think it is quite feasible to suggest that here we have before us a self-portrait of the young Andrea who, in 1440, would have been seventeen years old. The type of the face and the modeling of the features and the drapery show an extraordinary similarity to the style of some of Andrea's later heads, for instance the heads of Farinata degli Uberti and the Cumæan Sibyl, both in Sant'Apollonia in Florence. In the portrait at Castiglione Olona I can find hardly any connecting links with Paolo Schiavo's manner, whereas the connection with Andrea's style is self-evident.

Having returned to Florence, the young Andrea probably painted the frescos depicting the rebels, which Vasari mentions, and the Pazzi altarpiece. I first saw this altarpiece in 1925. It was then still in a chapel of the Castel del Trebbio, near Florence, and I attributed it unhesitatingly to Castagno. A few years later Professor Salmi published the altarpiece, also attributing it to Castagno. In this painting we already recognize Andrea's

⁷ van Marle, *op. cit.*, IX, 39.

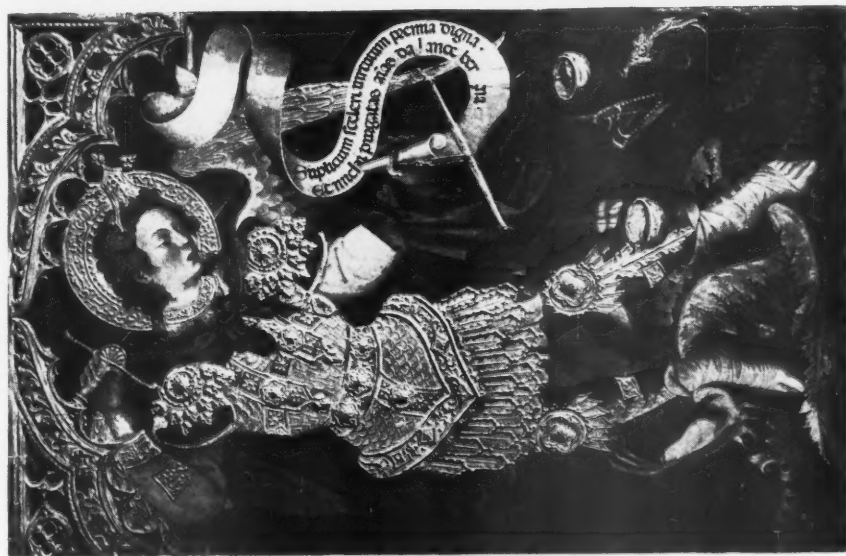


FIG. 8. JACOBELLO DEL FIORE: ARCHANGEL MICHAEL
DETAIL OF JUSTICE
Academy, Venice



FIG. 9. CASTAGNO: ARCHANGEL MICHAEL
RIGHT WING OF ALTARPIECE
Private Collection, New York



FIG. 10. CASTAGNO: THE YOUTHFUL DAVID
Joseph Widener Collection, Philadelphia



FIG. 11. PAOLO SCHIAVO: MADONNA AND CHILD
DETAIL OF FRESCO
S. Minato, Florence

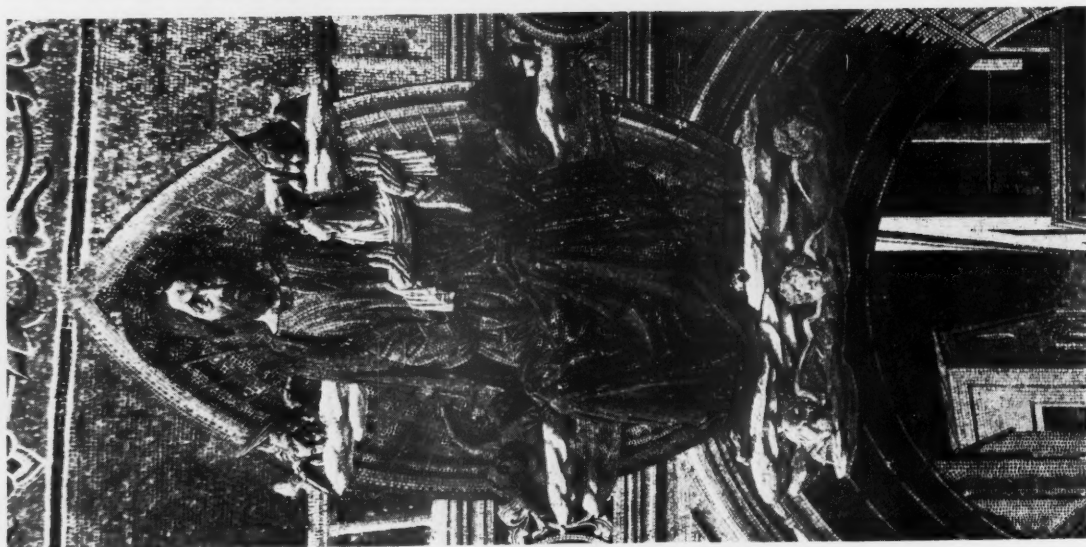


FIG. 12. CHRIST CARRYING MADONNA TO HEAVEN
DETAIL OF MOSAIC DESIGNED BY CASTAGNO
S. Marco, Venice



FIG. 13. CASTAGNO: MADONNA AND CHILD
DETAIL OF ALTARPIECE
Private Collection, New York

contempt for architecture. The Madonna is sitting on an invisible throne which is placed on two rectangular marble steps. She is surrounded by two saints, two angels and the two children of the donors, but the background is simply a beautiful brocade drapery, as in Fra Angelico's altarpiece representing the Madonna with two angels and six saints in San Marco, Florence.⁸ The style of the figures shows very strongly the influence of Paolo Schiavo, and the handling of the drapery the influence of Masolino.

In 1442 — he was then nineteen years old — Andrea painted in collaboration with Francesco da Faenza frescos in the ceiling of the chapel of S. Tarasio in San Zaccaria in Venice. These frescos have suffered considerably. However, enough remains to confirm the surmise that they must be the work of a still young and inexperienced artist. Again, in some of the heads and in the drapery, we can recognize a distinct connection with Paolo Schiavo's style. But here for the first time we notice all the characteristics of Castagno's own curiously irregular style of drapery. The treatment of the drapery is still rather crude but of the same style which we observe in his later works. In the putti, I think, we can recognize a distinct influence of the School of Murano. Compare, *e. g.*, the putti (Figs. 18, 19, 20) in the vault of the Ovetari Chapel in the Eremitani at Padua, which was decorated a few years later by Giovanni d'Alemagna and Antonio Vivarini. The same type of children also occurs, however, in earlier works of these masters. In the same or following year Andrea made the design for the mosaic representing the *Dormition* in the Mascoli Chapel in San Marco and perhaps also for the fresco representing S. Teodoro in S. Teodoro at Venice.⁹ During his stay in Venice or immediately on his return to Florence the remarkable early altarpiece (Figs. 1, 9, 13, 16, 17, 21, 22, 23) must also have been painted.

This altarpiece presents a complex problem, and it seems understandable that until now no convincing attribution has been proposed. During the past thirty years art critics have ascribed it to Alesso Baldovinetti, Verrocchio and, more recently, to the School of Domenico Veneziano, probably on account of the strange intermingling of Florentine and Venetian elements which are noticeable in it. The powerful sculptural style of the figures points to a Florentine master, but the color scheme and the composition of St. Michael weighing the souls let us think of Venice. In-

⁸Illustrated in F. Schottmüller, *Fra Angelico*, (*Klassiker der Kunst*), p. 172.

⁹The attribution of both mosaics to Castagno is not generally accepted. See Salmi, *Paolo Uccello, Andrea dal Castagno, Domenico Veneziano*, Milan, (*Valori Plastici*), Second Edition. Notes to Pl. 118-120.

deed, the figure of the archangel is strongly reminiscent of the figure of the Archangel Michael (Fig. 8) in Jacobello del Fiore's altarpiece depicting *Justice between the Archangels Michael and Gabriel*, which is dated 1436, in the Academy in Venice. The colors, though not unusual, are of a striking beauty. The Madonna wears a carmine tunic and a deep lapis lazuli cloak. As to the gowns of the two assisting angels, that on the right is a deep magenta-red and that on the left a harsh green. The kilt of the Archangel Michael is a vivid green and the body vest a steely blue. The background of the three panels is of a beautiful pink-carmine against which the dark robe of St. Bridget and the green of St. Michael's kilt stand out vividly, but the Madonna and the two assisting angels are placed against an almost intense white curtain which has been draped in front of the red walls. The colors themselves are perhaps the same as those used by other masters of that period, but the manner of their employment strikes us as strange and unusual. They imply a sense of pleinairism which must have impressed the public of the quattrocento much in the same way as we have been impressed by the modern pleinairistic movement. The master who painted the triptych was obviously deeply interested in problems of light and color and space. Un-Florentine also is the plain elliptical marble base on which the Madonna is sitting. We need only compare this simple arrangement with the geometrical construction of the marble base in Domenico Veneziano's Uffizi altarpiece. In Venice, on the other hand, such plain round or elliptical marble bases were quite common, as *e. g.*, in Giovanni d'Alemagna's and Antonio Vivarini's S. Sabina altarpiece in S. Zaccaria in Venice.¹⁰ This altarpiece is dated 1443 and in consequence was executed during Andrea's stay in Venice. The informal arrangement of placing one saint on a slab and the other on the ground also occurs in Venetian altarpieces, as in Giovanni's and Antonio's altarpiece of 1440 in the Brera.¹¹ The plainly visible contempt for architectural motifs in this altarpiece is definitely an un-Florentine feature but characteristic of Venetian tendencies. The type of the child and, to a certain extent, of the Madonna reminds us of similar types of faces which we find in the works of Giovanni d'Alemagna (compare Figs. 18 and 21) and the Vivarinis. I am referring to such paintings as Antonio Vivarini's *Madonna in Città di Castello* of 1446 and the polyptych in the Brera, where we notice a similar bulky type of child.¹² Similar Madonnas must already have been

¹⁰Illustrated in L. Testi, *La Storia della Pittura Veneziana*, Bergamo, 1915, Vol. II, p. 347.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 375.

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 373.



FIG. 14. MASOLINO: HEAD OF ANGEL
DETAIL OF ANNUNCIATION
National Gallery, London



FIG. 15. CASTAGNO: HEAD OF ANGEL
DETAIL OF PAZZI ALTARPIECE
Formerly Castello del Trebbio



FIG. 16. CASTAGNO: HEAD OF ANGEL
DETAIL OF ALTARPIECE
Private Collection, New York



FIG. 17. CASTAGNO: HEAD OF ANGEL
DETAIL OF ALTARPIECE
Private Collection, New York



FIG. 18. GIOVANNI D'ALEMAGNA: PUTTO
DETAIL OF CEILING FRESCO
Eremitani, Padua



FIG. 19. CASTAGNO: PUTTO. DETAIL OF FRESCO
S. Zaccaria, Venice



FIG. 20. CASTAGNO: PUTTO. DETAIL OF FRESCO
Villa Rinuccini, Legnaia



FIG. 21. CASTAGNO: CHRIST CHILD
DETAIL OF ALTARPIECE
Private Collection, New York

painted a few years earlier. Giovanni and Antonio had worked together in Venice since 1441 and perhaps before that year.

Antonio Vivarini was of approximately the same age as Andrea, or slightly older. Giovanni d'Alemagna may have been ten or fifteen years his senior. At the moment when Andrea came to Venice both masters were representatives of the young generation, and it would be natural for Andrea to be interested in their work. Jacobello had died in 1439, and Jacopo Bellini was then forty years old.

The Vivarinesque character of the Madonna and child becomes still more evident when we compare them with Bartolommeo Vivarini's types. Bartolommeo was, of course, still a child then but the Madonna and child in the altarpiece seem to form an intermediary stage in the evolution between Giovanni d'Alemagna and Antonio Vivarini on the one hand and Bartolommeo Vivarini on the other hand. But who is the author of this captivating altarpiece? The intermingling of Florentine and Venetian features induces us to think of an artist who was connected with Florence and Venice — but the Florentine features are preponderant, and it therefore seems more likely that we are dealing with a Florentine master who was influenced by Venetian art or who even worked in Venice. Andrea dal Castagno would, therefore, become a serious aspirant for the authorship of the altarpiece. Indeed the style of the painting points unmistakably to Andrea's manner. The hand of Andrea can perhaps most easily be recognized in the modeling of the drapery, the hands and the details of the faces. Compare, for instance, the hair of St. Michael with the hair of the child standing to the right in the Pazzi altarpiece; the modeling of the eyes, ears and mouths with similar features in the heads of the famous men in the Cenacolo di Sant'Apollonia. Compare again the drapery, especially of the angels' garments, with similar details which we find in the frescos in San Zaccaria and the Pazzi altarpiece. And let us also compare the powerful, somewhat clumsy, hands which we notice in this altarpiece with similar hands in the Sant'Apollonia frescos. The curious style of the modeling of the drapery, however, is perhaps the most conclusive argument, as this particular manner of modeling does not occur, so far as I know, in any other master's work. I therefore believe that the attribution of the altarpiece to Andrea, which has been suggested, is absolutely convincing. It would have to be dated about 1443-44.

The problem of chronology becomes quite simple if we discard for the moment the figure of St. Michael, which, as we have seen, was inspired by Jacobello del Fiore's altarpiece, and the Madonna and child, which are

strongly influenced by Giovanni d'Alemagna and Antonio Vivarini. The figure of Saint Bridget, on the other hand, is painted completely in Castagno's manner. The angels, also, are extremely Castagnesque although their heads still reflect the prototypes of Masolino, as we see them in his frescos at Castiglione Olona. This close connection between Masolino's and Castagno's angels can be accepted as further proof of Andrea's stay in Castiglione Olona (see Figs. 6, 14, 15, 16, 17). Concentrating, as I suggested, on the figure of Saint Bridget and the two angels, we must conclude that these figures were painted earlier than any other work which can be attributed to Castagno in Florence, except the Pazzi altarpiece.

At the beginning of this century the triptych belonged to the Galleria San Giorgi in Rome. It was reproduced in a catalogue of the gallery in 1913, and this reproduction is most interesting as it reveals a complete architectural background, typically Florentine and reminding us of the architectural setting in Domenico Veneziano's altarpiece in the Uffizi and other Florentine quattrocento altarpieces. Since then the altarpiece has been cleaned, and we can now enjoy the original conception of Andrea's painting. It is, as we have seen, as un-Florentine as possible, and it is quite conceivable that this almost outrageously revolutionary example of modern art did not please the taste of the Florentines. The usual ornate architectural background was then added. As I did not see the background before it was removed I cannot offer any definite judgment regarding the period when the background was changed. It may have been done in the second half of the fifteenth century. Unfortunately the restorer, who cleaned the background, also removed the original haloes. They were of the same elliptical type which we notice in the Pazzi altarpiece and which occur frequently in North-Italian paintings, but rarely in Florentine art.

The history of the triptych can be traced back to the Badia di San Michele at Poggibonsi. As St. Michael is represented in the triptych one is tempted to assume that the triptych may originally have been painted for this abbey. Poggibonsi remained for centuries the bone of contention between Florence and Siena, but during the time of Castagno's life it belonged to Florence. It seems likely that the altarpiece was painted immediately after Andrea's return from Venice. In any case, the close connection between the composition of the Madonna in the triptych and the figure of Christ in the mosaic of the *Dormition* (Fig. 12) would prove that both works must have originated at approximately the same time.

We may possibly add another painting to the list of Andrea's early works: the portrait of the Beato Lorenzo Giustiniani, first patriarch of

Venice, in the gallery in Bergamo (Fig. 25). This portrait, I believe, is not a copy after Gentile Bellini's large portrait in the Academy in Venice. The latter portrait is dated 1465 and consequently was painted about ten years after Lorenzo's death. The head is surrounded by the angular halo of a beato. The portrait in Bergamo must have been painted considerably earlier. It shows the patriarch without the halo, and the panel and frame show the pointed Gothic arch. The composition and the modeling of the face remind me of the medallions which we see on the architrave of the building in the *Dormition*. Whether we are dealing with the original or with an old copy, I am not in a position to decide now. Professor Lionello Venturi, however, mentions the Bergamo panel in his book on the origin of Venetian art and lauds its quality.¹³

In the light of our investigations and studies the artistic development of Andrea dal Castagno is beginning to take more definite shape and form. The chronology of his works remained until now more or less problematical as only a few works could be connected with a date. But in accepting Andrea's collaboration in the frescos at Castiglione Olona we now gain much guidance in determining his evolution. We can distinctly observe Paolo Schiavo's influence in the works of his early period and this influence is still faintly visible in the Berlin altarpiece of 1459. On the other hand, the grand monumental style of the equestrian portrait and of the frescos in the SS. Annunziata is characteristic of the works of his later period. In consequence we have to place all existing works of the master in a logical order between the frescos of Castiglione Olona and the late frescos just mentioned. We then notice that the influence of Paolo Schiavo and Masolino gradually wears off, how after his return from Venice he becomes subjected to the influence of the great Florentine leaders, especially Uccello, Masaccio, Piero della Francesca and Domenico Veneziano, and how eventually he develops his own monumental style.

* * * *

I shall now attempt to place the works of Andrea in a tentative chronological order.

C. 1438-40, *Scenes from the Life of San Lorenzo; Self-Portrait (?)* — frescos at Castiglione Olona, Collegiata, in collaboration with Paolo Schiavo. In these frescos the

¹³L. Venturi, *Le Origini della Pittura Veneziana*, Venezia, 1907, p. 334. The photograph which I am able to reproduce is, unfortunately, poor and evidently does not do justice to the fine modeling of the painting.

young Andrea betrays very strongly the influence of his master, Paolo Schiavo, and to a certain extent the influence of Masolino.

C. 1440, the *Pazzi Altarpiece*, formerly in the Castello del Trebbio near Florence. The composition of the altarpiece is based on a formula conceived by Fra Angelico, but in the figures — especially in the types of faces — and partly in the drapery, Paolo Schiavo's, and perhaps even more so Masolino's, influence is very clearly visible. St. John the Baptist very much resembles the Baptist in Paolo Schiavo's San Miniato altarpiece, and the two angels show an extraordinarily close resemblance to the angels in the fresco on the façade of SS. Apostoli in Florence.¹⁴ This latter fresco has been correctly attributed to Paolo Schiavo by Dr. Offner.

1442, frescos on the ceiling of the San Tarasio Chapel in San Zaccaria in Venice in collaboration with Francesco da Faenza.

C. 1443, the *Dormition* — mosaic in the Mascoli Chapel of S. Marco in Venice. Andrea was probably responsible only for the design.

C. 1443, the *Beato Lorenzo Giustiniani*, Bergamo, Gallery (?).

C. 1443, San Teodoro mosaic in San Teodoro, Venice (?). The design for this mosaic is possibly by the hand of Andrea.

C. 1444, triptych, *Madonna, St. Michael and St. Bridget* — private collection.¹⁵ In this altarpiece Andrea clearly shows a marked Venetian influence. The St. Michael is inspired by Jacobello del Fiore's St. Michael in his Justice, and the Madonna and child are evidently influenced by the style of Giovanni d'Alemagna and Antonio Vivarini.

1444, *Pietà*, design for the window in the Cathedral in Florence.

C. 1444, *Crucifixion* with four saints and the Magdalen kneeling, frescos, Florence, Santa Maria degli Angeli. In this fresco we note for the first time the influence of Masaccio in the composition as well as in the handling of the drapery.

C. 1445, *Pietà*, Florence, Cenacolo di Sant'Apollonia. This fresco has suffered so much that it is difficult to propose a definite date. However, it still seems to be a youthful work but later than the fresco in Santa Maria degli Angeli.

C. 1445-47, frescos representing famous men and women, Florence, Cenacolo di Sant'Apollonia. Andrea may have been inspired in these frescos by the series of Giants, which, according to Marcantonio Michiel Paolo, Uccello painted in the Casa Vitaliani in Padua. We know that between 1425 and 1434 Paolo spent some time in Venice. However, the date of Paolo's Giants is not absolutely certain. In Castagno's Giants we can recognize not only Paolo's influence, but also a gradual infiltration of the style of Piero della Francesca and Domenico Veneziano. The St. Egidio frescos in which both masters collaborated must have been finished shortly before Andrea had come home to Florence.

St. John, fragment of a *Crucifixion*, Detroit Institute of Arts.

C. 1447-48, *Crucifixion, Deposition and Resurrection*, frescos, Florence, Cenacolo di Sant'Apollonia. These frescos on the upper part of the wall are, in my opinion, later than the series of famous men and women. The expression of the faces is far more spiritual. We still notice in these frescos recollections of Paolo Schiavo's and Masolino's style. In the *Resurrection* with the sleeping soldiers on the left-hand side, we can also notice clearly the influence of Piero della Francesca.

¹⁴Offner, *op. cit.*, pl. 14D and pl. 14G.

¹⁵It is possible that the altarpiece originally was a pentaptych because the faces of both saints are turned to the right. However, on account of the large size of the panels it seems more likely that the altarpiece was only a triptych.



FIG. 22. CASTAGNO: HEAD OF ST. MICHAEL. DETAIL OF ALTARPIECE
Private Collection, New York



FIG. 23. CASTAGNO: HEAD OF MADONNA. DETAIL OF ALTARPIECE
Private Collection, New York

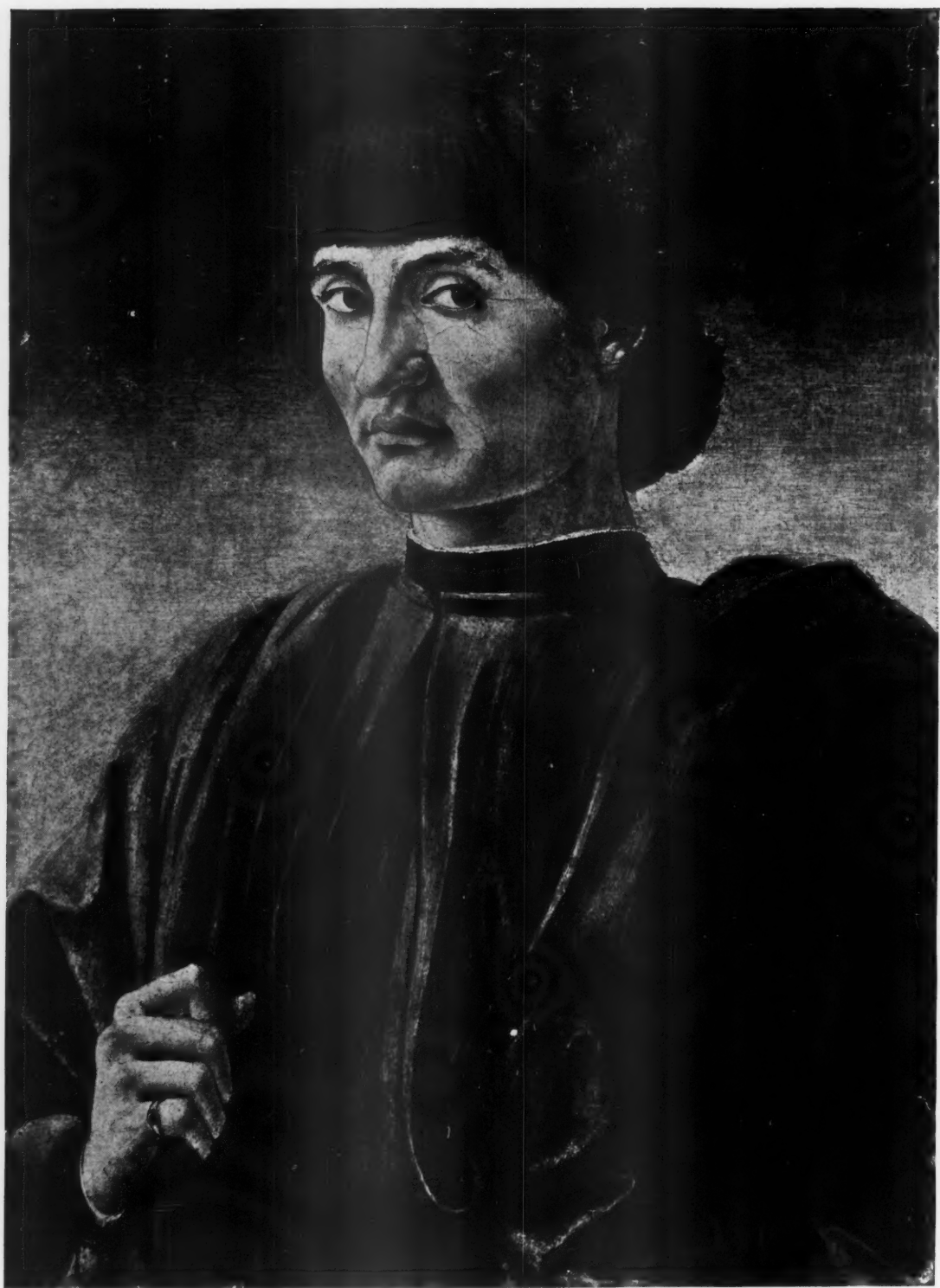


FIG. 24. CASTAGNO: PORTRAIT OF A MAN
National Gallery (Mellon Collection), Washington



FIG. 25. CASTAGNO (?): BEATO LORENZO GIUSTINIANI
Gallery, Bergamo

1449, altarpiece, Berlin, *Ascension of the Virgin*. We still note a faint influence of Paolo Schiavo in this altarpiece.

C. 1450, *Crucifixion*, London, National Gallery; *Resurrection*, New York, Frick Collection. I find it difficult to precise the date of these two predellas. Their connection with Domenico Veneziano's style points to a relatively early date. On the other hand, the face of Christ is similar to the face of Christ in the late *Crucifixion*.

C. 1450-52, *Last Supper*, Florence, Cenacolo di Sant'Apollonia. The fresco on the lower wall of Sant'Apollonia was, in my opinion, executed later than the upper part with the *Crucifixion*.

C. 1452, *Portrait of a Man*, Washington, National Gallery, Mellon Collection (Fig. 24), close to the style of the faces in the *Last Supper*. Compare also the modeling of this face with the modeling of the face of the Madonna in the triptych (Fig. 24).

C. 1455, *Crucifixion and Four Saints*, Florence, Cenacolo di Sant'Apollonia.

C. 1455, *The Youthful David*, Philadelphia, the Joseph Widener Collection (Fig. 10).

C. 1455, *St. Julian; St. Jerome with the Sainted Women and the Trinity*, Florence, SS. Annunziata, frescos. It is possible that these frescos may have been executed a few years earlier.

1456, *Equestrian Portrait of Nicolo da Tolentino*, Florence, Cathedral. Painted as companion piece to Uccello's equestrian portrait of John Hawkwood. Restored by Lorenzo di Credi.

Not all of Andrea's works have survived, but what is left suffices to give us a clear conception of his personality. We still can follow the evolution of the young man who, as a boy, had tended cattle. Vasari says that "he was so strong and powerful that he was not only capable of guarding and keeping his cattle in subjection but also of protecting the pastures from all attack and aggression." This powerful and perhaps somewhat violent character of the cowboy is also noticeable in his art. The men and women that he paints are supermen and superwomen. They have large, heavily-built bodies and the somewhat clumsy, powerful hands of peasants, but the faces of these men and women are full of spiritual expression. In his frescos as well as in his panels he helped to create the great monumental style of the Italian Renaissance. He quickly outgrew the painters of his own generation, the fine Baldovinetti, the novelistic Benozzo and the imaginative Piero Pollaiuolo. His place belongs in the sequence of the greatest painters of that remarkable period which produced so many men of genius. Something of the grandiose style of Michelangelo is already developing in Andrea's paintings, and we must lament his far too early death.³⁸

³⁸At the moment of this article going to press I noticed that M. Salmi in his book on Castagno also speaks of a connection between Castagno and artists of the type of Paolo Schiavo. He thinks that this connection happened before Castagno came to Florence from Castagno (p. 115).

A BRONZE DAVID BY FRANCESCO DI GIORGIO
IN THE FRICK COLLECTION

By W. R. VALENTINER
Detroit, Michigan

The often discussed question: Who is the greatest artist of our time or of any epoch in the past? becomes superfluous if one concedes that the epoch referred to has really produced great art. For history teaches us that whenever art reaches a peak, great artists appear not singly but in groups. It is characteristic that the different members of this group will, in spite of a strong personal individuality, be connected with one another by tendencies common to their time and nation. They will also form the end of a development which has been carried on for a considerable length of time by artists with similar aims and increasingly successful accomplishments in this direction.

Leonardo da Vinci, in whom nature has produced one the highest types of the human race, is not isolated in his time. He is surrounded by other masters of similar universality of mind like Bramante and Michelangelo. He is preceded by artists who strove for this universality without quite reaching it. These predecessors already aimed at that manysidedness, not only in their intellectual interest but also in their practical abilities, which is characteristic of the efforts of the Renaissance around 1500 and of no other epoch.

In each of the two centers of the Tuscan Renaissance, Florence and Siena, we find preparatory types which precede as nearly perfect specimens, the perfect specimen that appears in Leonardo. Leone Battista Alberti, the great architect and writer, who is praised as physically as strong and intellectually as harmonious as Leonardo, has often been described as the forerunner of the great master in Florence.

The steps which lead in Siena to the same peak of universality are less taken into consideration. The development in Siena is not usually accepted as a part of the great Renaissance movement as it deserves to be. The widening of interests begins with Vecchietta, who started as a painter but took up sculpture after he had witnessed the activity of Donatello in Siena. First a marble sculptor, Vecchietta soon became also an accomplished bronze sculptor. One of his finest bronze reliefs is in the Frick Collection. He competed for architectural undertakings and towards the end of his life built several fortresses for the city of Siena.



FIG. 1. FRANCESCO DI GIORGIO: DAVID (Bronze)
Frick Collection, New York



FIG. 2. FRANCESCO DI GIORGIO: HERCULES (Bronze)
Albertinum, Dresden



FIGS. 3 AND 4. FRANCESCO DI GIORGIO: DAVID
Frick Collection, New York

Francesco di Giorgio, the pupil of Vecchietta and one of the great personalities of the Renaissance, went much further and became the most universal figure that Siena produced. He has been called the "Leonardo of Siena" and indeed resembles the great Florentine in his interest in all fields of art. He was a painter and painted not only small and large altarpieces but also portraits, miniatures, bookcovers and cassone panels. He was a sculptor and worked in terracotta, marble and bronze. As an architect he designed private and public buildings, palaces, city halls, churches and fortresses. He was an interior decorator and from his designs church and palace furniture were executed. He wrote a treatise on architecture and illustrated it with explanatory drawings. As a military engineer he was engaged by the Duke of Urbino and the King of Naples, while his own city employed him as superintendent of the waterworks.

In all these fields he showed such extraordinary ability and originality that his native city found it difficult to keep him at home, for he was constantly in demand by other cities and principalities. He was more successful in his career than Leonardo, probably because he was easy to get along with and his straightforwardness of character and quickness of conception were appreciated by his employers. While very few of Leonardo's architectural ideas were transformed from paper into reality, several of the palaces, city halls and churches which Francesco di Giorgio built are still in existence, and some of the 136 fortifications he is said to have built for the Duke of Urbino can also still be located. Leonardo undoubtedly invented much more fantastic and terrible war machines. But we are not aware of their use in practice, while we learn that Francesco di Giorgio succeeded for the first time in history in exploding a land mine in actual warfare, resulting in the recapture of the Castel Nuovo at Naples from the French.

There was something in Leonardo's nature which prevented him from a complete realization of his ideas. He could not overcome certain difficulties in his nature which a less complicated mind like Francesco di Giorgio's easily mastered. He often promised more to his art patrons than he was able to do. But even so, it hardly needs to be said, his mind was much more universal in scope than Francesco di Giorgio's. A comprehensive philosophy of life bound all his interests together into a harmonious system, such as there is no evidence of in the writings of the Sienese master.

This may have been the reason why Francesco di Giorgio never reached in his art the ultimate development toward which the epoch was tending. He believed to the end in quattrocento ideals, although Leonardo inaugurated the style of the High Renaissance as early as 1480 and Francesco

lived until after the beginning of the new century (1502). It should be remembered, however, that Francesco was thirteen years older than Leonardo and that the birth date is always more important than the death date when it comes to the division of two epochs.

An outstanding work of his last period, which well exemplifies this point, is a bronze figure representing *David*, in the Frick Collection, New York, published here, which thus far has never been connected with his name (Figs. 1, 3, 4). It is not astonishing that it has been tentatively attributed to Verrocchio, for the attitude of the young hero proves that the artist knew Verrocchio's bronze *David*.¹ And, indeed, we know that Francesco di Giorgio in his early period (1470-1473), that is, about twenty-five years before his *David* was executed, probably had some connection with the Florentine master.² We conclude this from several bronze reliefs by him which were attributed at one time to Verrocchio or Leonardo: the *Flagellation of Christ* (Pinacotheca at Perugia), the *Pieta* (S. Maria del Carmine in Venice), the *Discordia* of which only stucco replicas are preserved, the plaquette representing the *Judgment of Paris* (Dreyfuss Collection), to which should be added the plaque representing S. Jerome (also in the Dreyfuss Collection) attributed to Bertoldo. These reliefs were created by Francesco in the second half of the seventies of the fifteenth century, probably at Urbino, and are mentioned by Giovanni Santi, Raphael's father, in his rhymed chronicle as "istorie nel bronzo scolpite in calda cera."

The other bronze sculptures known to us by Francesco di Giorgio belong to a much later period at the end of his career: two half figures of angels holding candelabras in the Cathedral at Siena, executed in 1489-90; two standing figures of angels holding candelabra made for the same place

¹I have to thank Mr. Frederick Mortimer Clapp, director of the Frick Collection, and Mr. H. J. Dwight, assistant director, for having made special photographs of the *David* figure for the present article. The statue was formerly in the Aynard Collection in Lyons and later in the collection of J. Pierpont Morgan, from whom it was acquired by Mr. Frick.

P. Schubring is responsible for a better appreciation of Francesco di Giorgio as a sculptor by his treatment of the artist in *Die Plastik Siena's im Quattrocento*, 1907; *Thieme-Becker Lexicon* XII, 1916; *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1916; *Die Italienische Plastik des Quattrocento in Handbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1919.

An exhaustive study on his paintings has been made by American scholars; B. Berenson, *Central Italian Painters*, 1908; *Italian Paintings of the Renaissance*, 1936; A. McComb, *Art Studies*, 1924; G. H. Edgell, *History of Sienese Paintings*, 1932; Allan Weller, *Art Quarterly*, Vol. II (1939).

The best study of his architecture is by A. Venturi in *Storia dell'Arte Italiana* VII and VIII; see also L. Venturi, *L'Arte*, 1914.

An excellent characterization of the development of the artist as a draughtsman is given by B. Degenhart, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 1936 and 1938.

S. Brinton's two volumes on the life and works of the artist (London, 1935) is a popular and uncritical compilation.

²Francesco di Giorgio most likely learned the bronze technique, however, from Vecchietta, who has been rightly called "The greatest Italian master of the art of chasing in bronze during the middle decades of the Quattrocento." (F. M. Clapp, *Vecchietta* in *Art Studies*, 1926, p. 52).



FIG. 5. FRANCESCO DI GIORGIO: MINERVA
DETAIL OF INTARSIA DOOR
Palazzo Ducale, Urbino



FIG. 6. FRANCESCO DI GIORGIO: STRIPPING OF CHRIST
DETAIL
Pinacoteca, Siena

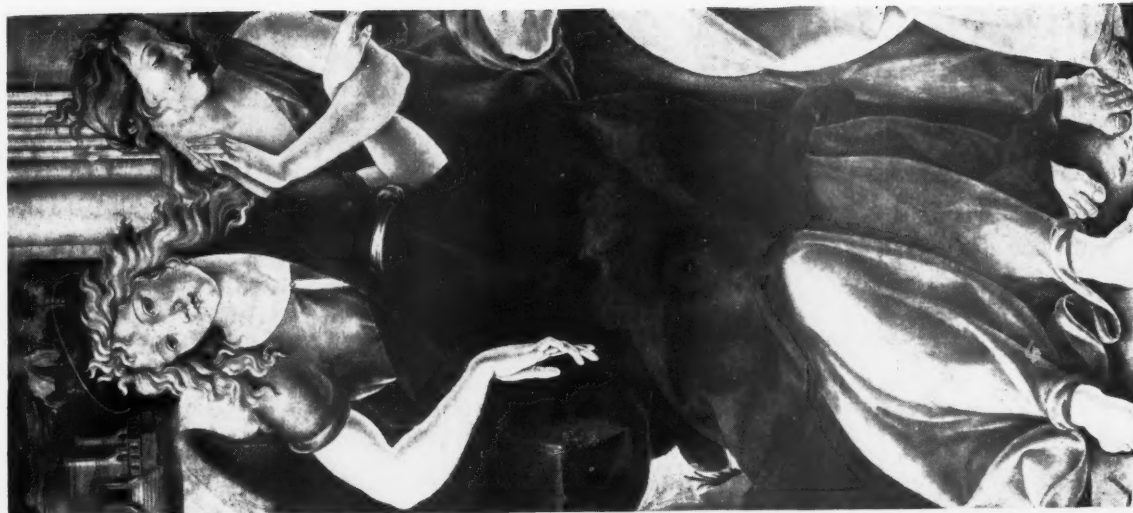


FIG. 7. FRANCESCO DI GIORGIO: NATIVITY
DETAIL
S. Domenico, Siena

in 1495-97, and the Hercules statue in the Albertinum at Dresden (Fig. 2). The characteristics of these figures are more elongated proportions and an increased mannerism in movement and expression, which seems to reveal a vain effort to grasp the new problems of the High Renaissance, resulting in a restlessness such as we observe also in Verrocchio's last works.

The *David* in the Frick Collection agrees with the *Hercules* in its proportions. The arms are thin, the hands and fingers unusually large, the feet broad and flat. In both instances we find the head placed slightly sideways as if it were not sitting quite correctly upon the neck. The triangular-shaped face with the sharp straight nose and the pointed chin, as well as the charmingly conventionalized curled hair, have frequently been noticed as characteristic in Francesco di Giorgio's paintings.

Both the *David* and *Hercules* are of a size rarely found among quattrocento bronzes. They can be called neither statuettes nor statues, being too large for the one, too small for the other; the forms are represented at about one-third life-size (the *David* measuring 29½ inches, the *Hercules* 45½ inches). It is hardly accidental that they were executed close to the beginning of the sixteenth century, as this enlarged size of the statuette is characteristic of the High Renaissance and was frequently used by Giovanni da Bologna, Sansovino and other High Renaissance sculptors.

If we compare the *David* with paintings and drawings by Francesco di Giorgio, we come to the same conclusion as from a comparison with his sculpture: it is nearest in style to the late works of the artist. We select for comparison the figure of *Minerva* (Fig. 5) from one of the intarsia doors in the Palace at Urbino (which the artist must have designed during his second stay at this court, between 1487 and 1491), the *Nativity* painted by the artist for San Domenico in Siena (Fig. 6), and the *Stripping of Christ* in the Pinacotheca at Siena (Fig. 7), both executed probably in the second half of the nineties of the fifteenth century.³

The *Minerva* has similar proportions, similar large, long and thick fingers, the same flat feet with broad ankles as the *David*. The curly waves upon which she stands form a conventional pattern similar to that of David's hair. In the *Nativity* the first angel to the left places his arm on the hip in a manner very similar to the gesture of David, and the hands and fingers are of similar proportions. One of the few nude figures in Francesco's paintings, the Christ in the *Stripping*, offers a good point of

³Regarding the dating of the *Stripping of Christ*, see A. Weller, *Art Quarterly*, Vol. II, 1939, pp. 23-32. Berenson believes that Pietro di Domenico executed the painting after a cartoon by Francesco di Giorgio.

comparison to the *David*. The body has the same full, almost voluptuous forms and the formation of the legs, marked by the curious swelling outline of the calves, is similar even in pose. In these paintings we observe the excited and slightly affected movement of the figures that we found characteristic of the *David*. And although the relief-like style of this bronze figure with its open silhouette, its playful attitude and preciousness of expression, is typical of the style of the Quattrocento, we feel in certain traits such as in the fullness of forms and avoidance of decorative elements such as armour and costume, that we are at a point nearer to the High Renaissance than is Verrocchio's *David*. It is difficult, however, to realize that only a few years separated the execution of the Frick *David* from Michelangelo's youthful and overpowering creation of the young hero.

A FRAGMENT OF AN ATTIC DINOS

By F. P. JOHNSON

Chicago, Illinois

Of the several kinds of large bowls, or "kraters," in which the Greeks mixed wine with water at their banquets, the simplest type was almost hemispherical, with rounded bottom and flat rim. Modern writers have usually called this form "dinos," though there is no reason for believing that the ancients used that name for it; on the contrary the evidence, which is slight, indicates that their dinos was a drinking-vessel of some sort. Another term for the large bowl is "lebes," and this the Greeks would probably have accepted as permissible, but its application certainly was not limited to this form. Recently Professor Rumpf has found in Herodotos a hint that vessels of this sort were called Argolic kraters. However, "dinos" is a convenient term, established and unambiguous, and it will probably continue in use.

Some dinoi are fully decorated, but a considerable number of them are treated in a special way: the body is all black, except for a little conventional ornament on the shoulder, and the decoration is virtually limited to the rim, which in most examples is correspondingly elaborated in form. And this decoration has a special character, particularly on the inside of

the mouth: there we find ships — always warships, for some reason — which would appear to float on the wine when the bowl was full. Ivy is painted on the outside of the elaborated rim.

Figures 1-4 illustrate the dinos in the collection of the Austrian Museum of Art and Industry in Vienna. In the warship, one of five in the mouth of the bowl, one sees the oarsmen and the helmsman, who are always to be seen in pictures of warships, and also a *proreus* or lookout. The top of the rim is shown entire in three photographs. The composition is continuous, but there are three subjects: a combat of Herakles, with lion-skin cap, and Kyknos; another combat, probably of Achilles and Memnon; and a *psychostasia* or weighing of souls, in which two winged souls or destinies of warriors are shown in the balance of Zeus. Homer tells how Zeus weighed the destinies of Achilles and Hector, and Aeschylus told a similar story in connection with Achilles and Memnon. This incident, then, may belong to the same legend as one of the combats; but the second combat can hardly be brought into relation with them, and in any case there are several figures in the composition which have no essential connection with any of the three subjects.

The Vienna dinos, though not previously illustrated, has been well enough known. Hitherto unmentioned, on the contrary, is the fragment of a rim (Figs. 5-8) which belonged to Professor Frank B. Tarbell and since his death has been in the small Classical Collection at the University of Chicago. Its greatest length is 72 millimetres, its height 42, the width of the rim 50. Aside from actual breaks, the surface is in good condition except on top, where it is considerably scratched. This difference doubtless arose when the dinos was complete and in use. The charioteer's head, in particular, seems to have suffered from a destructive banqueter, who perhaps had drawn too often from the dinos.

Mr. Millard Rogers' drawing (Fig. 5) is published chiefly in order that other fragments of the same rim, if they exist, may be identified beyond question, but it also has some interest as illustrating a detail of the potter's craft. The rim was made in one piece or more, and before firing was joined to the top of the bowl to complete the dinos. The line of junction, clearly visible, is not just the same at the two ends of the fragment, and of course there was no reason for making uniform the surfaces which were to be joined and concealed. Wet clay was used in joining the pieces, and naturally some of this would be left on the inner and outer surfaces of the vessel. On the inside, which was to be painted, this superfluous clay was

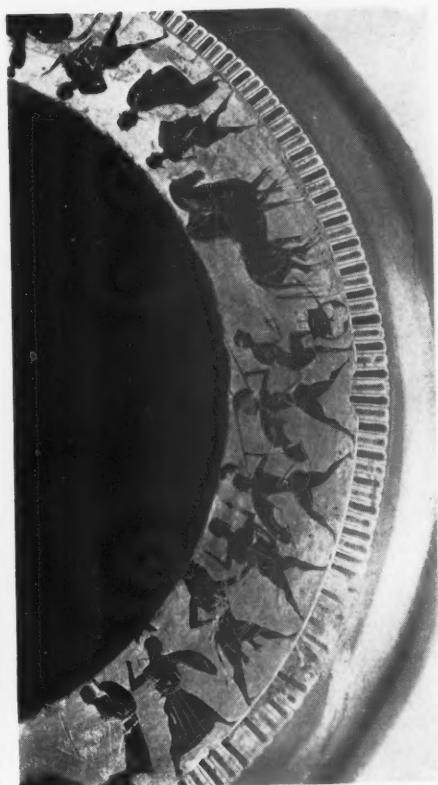
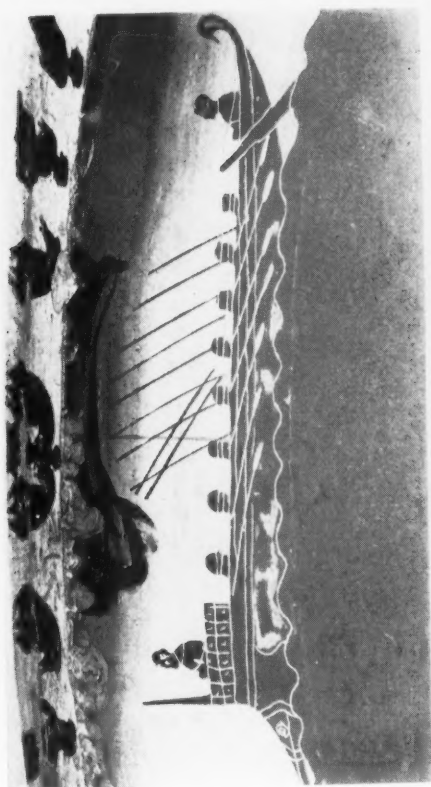
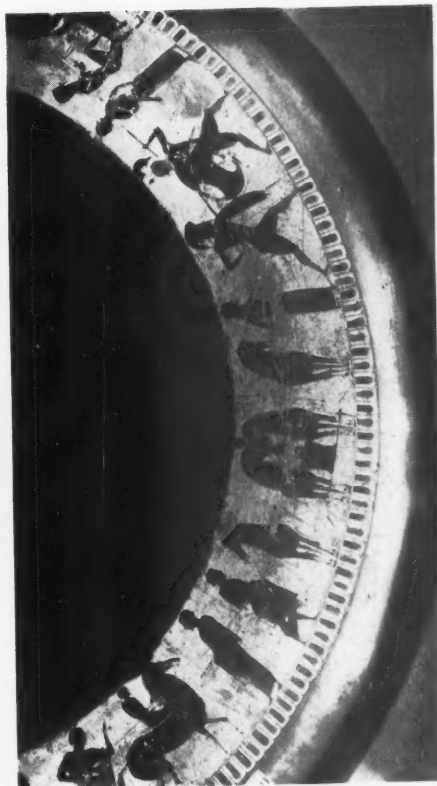
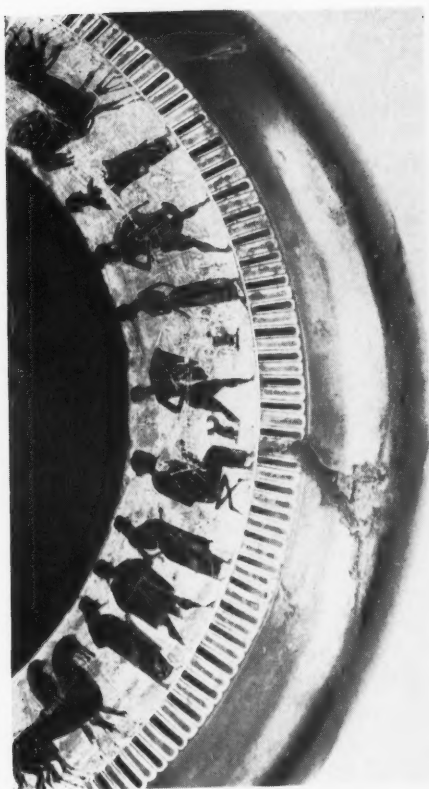
carefully removed; but on the outside some of it remained, and slight ridges mark its upper and lower boundaries.

The interior just within the mouth is lightly and irregularly varnished, but well varnished near the broken edge. On the outside, the upper part of the space below the overhanging lip is unpainted; the lower edge of the lip is black. On the outside of the rim there is ivy, painted in black only. On the inside there is the prow of a warship, with a warrior standing on it. The lower part of the side of the ship is purple. What remains of the sail is dull; over this surface there was perhaps white or purple, though no traces of any superimposed color are perceptible.

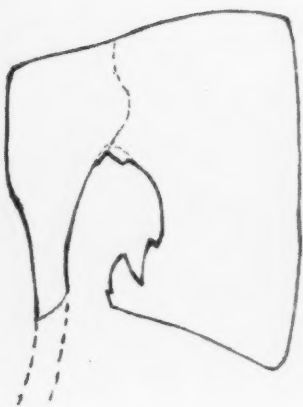
On the upper surface there is a chariot with four horses, in which ride a warrior and a charioteer. The warrior wears a Corinthian helmet and carries a round shield and two spears; the charioteer wears the usual charioteer's garment, a sleeveless long chiton, with wavy incised lines to suggest the nature of the fabric. The color of the chiton is gray. Purple is used for two of the horses' tails and for a band on the chariot, and some other parts are purple or purplish. The purple in this scene, unlike that on the side of the ship, does not differ greatly from the black in either tint or physical character. At the right edge of the fragment, in the background, is the bent arm of a warrior on foot; at the left edge, the forelegs of another four horses and part of their muzzles.

An inscription ΔΙΟΜΕΔΕ[Σ] identifies the warrior. Another inscription, retrograde, which from its position should be the name of the charioteer, begins ΚΑΑ; the third letter could be upsilon. Of the fourth letter only one stroke remains, and that to its full width only at the bottom; it is clear at least that the letter is not omicron. The name can be completed in many ways, but none is particularly appropriate. Kalesios was a squire slain by Diomedes (*Iliad* VI, 18). Kaulos signs a kylix as "maker"; the lettering of his signature is unlike this. Kalliades, Kallipe, and Kallistanthe occur as "love-names" on vases which might be contemporary with ours; the latter two, however, are feminine names and appear with feminine figures. At the lower left are four letters, ΙΦΟΣ; the fourth is poorly formed, but can hardly be anything but sigma; the surface after it is broken away, so there could have been additional letters, but those that remain are probably the end of a name. No suitable name occurs among "love-names" or signatures.

Dinoi with ships painted on the inside of the mouth have been listed



FIGS. 1-4. DETAILS OF DINOS
Austrian Museum of Art and Industry, Vienna



FIGS. 5-8. FRAGMENT OF A DINOS
Classical Collection, University of Chicago

most recently by Mingazzini, in his *Vasi della Collezione Castellani*.¹ To those listed must be added, of course, the Castellani dinos itself, which bears the signature of the most esteemed of black-figure vase-painters, Exekias. In this instance he does not sign as painter, but as "maker," indicating that he was the proprietor of the establishment in which the vase was made or sold, or perhaps that he actually shaped it on the wheel. In any case it would be natural to suppose that he painted it also, but this assumption is not safe; and the decoration is so slight that an attribution based on style is uncertain. The signature has made this dinos the most celebrated of them all, but its condition is bad: one ship is entirely lost, the front parts of two others are lost, and none of the upper surface of the rim is preserved. It is immediately evident that our fragment does not belong to any of the other known dinoi, and one must consider whether it can belong to the Castellani piece. Drawings were made of the latter and published in *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, 1888, plate 5. Mingazzini publishes no new illustration and mentions no errors in the old ones.

In these drawings the ships are shown as nearly (though not quite) uniform, and they differ from ours, most conspicuously in the diagonal checking of the forecastle; also they have no enclosing lines in front of the eye, they have an incision to mark the line between the jaws, and they have two divisions, instead of one, between the lines behind the eye and the beginning of the purple. These differences would seem to make it very improbable that our fragment should belong to that vase; yet it is barely possible that our ship, with its warrior, was a sort of flagship and intentionally distinguished from the others. In the restoration of the Castellani vase, as shown in the drawing, there are several features that would exclude all possibility that our fragment could belong: different contour of the overhanging lip, no black line at its lower edge, purple in the ivy; but it is questionable whether these features actually exist in the fragments. Indeed the drawing itself would seem to indicate that the entire outer part of the

¹Pp. 212-215. His no. 5, in Vienna (Masner 235) has not previously been illustrated; here figs. 1-4. His no. 6, in Madrid, is now published, *CVA* fasc. 1, III H e, pls. 4-7. His no. 7, in Naples (Heydemann, p. 875, no. 208; *Mon. Linc.* XXII, pl. 63, 5), is a dinos with figures on the top of the rim, but no ships; apparently it is confused with a column krater in Naples (Heydemann, p. 886, no. 246; *Mon. Linc.* XXII, pl. 60, 2), which has ships on the inside. His no. 9, in Boston, is now illustrated (outside only) in Richter-Milne, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases*, fig. 70. His no. 11, in the Villa Giulia museum, is now published, *CVA*, III H e, pls. 55-56. To the list could be added a rim which has been placed on a red-figure vase in Würzburg (Langlotz, no. 527, pls. 135 and 212). The ships in the Boston dinos seem to be lower in the water than others; no eye is visible. The ships in the Hermitage dinos (Mingazzini's no. 10) do not resemble that on our fragment. The Coghill vase (Mingazzini's no. 2) is known to me only from the old publication; the Capua vase (his no. 3) only from Helbig's description (*Bull. Inst.* 1873, p. 125); the Salerno vase (his no. 11) only from *Studi Etruschi* III, p. 99, pl. XI, from which one learns nothing of the decoration.

rim is lost, but this can hardly be right; how would Mingazzini know that ivy was present there? He mentions it, and does not mention purple, which implies that there is none.

Considering the various dinoi in comparison with one another, one notes that the ship scenes of the Vienna and Castellani vases and of Louvre F62 (Group A) stand together as opposed to the Madrid and Villa Giulia vases and Louvre F61 (Group B). In the former group the drawing is neater, and in the Vienna and Louvre pieces, which seem to be painted by the same man, the decoration on the top is also similar. Louvre F61 and Villa Giulia have no figures on top; Madrid has a scene there which is well enough drawn, but quite different from, and stylistically later than, the scenes on Louvre F62 and Vienna. The Madrid dinos might belong to the last decade of the sixth century. The Munich dinos belongs to the earlier group, though probably inferior in drawing to the three already mentioned; and it is clear even from the old illustration that the same is true of the Coghill dinos. The Naples dinos is isolated and late.

A similar division is found in consideration of another point. All the pictures show a number of ropes, approximately parallel which, according to Torr, are brailing-ropes. The dinoi in Group B, and other vases earlier and later, show in addition two ropes near the mast and almost vertical, which are said to be halyards and to serve the purpose of shrouds. In the three members of Group A these do not appear, but there are two ropes that start from near the front end of the yard and go back at an angle quite different from that made by the brailing-ropes. Mr. Nathan Dane II kindly informs me that these two ropes could hardly serve the same purpose as the vertical pair, and that they probably served as "braces" or as aids for setting the yard to the best advantage in the wind. Apparently they belonged to a kind of rigging which was not long popular in Athens.²

²Several black-figure pictures of ships are reproduced in Köster, *Das antike Seewesen* (Berlin, 1923), without references. His figure 26 is an Etruscan hydria in the British Museum, B 60; Walters, *Catalogue*, II, pl. 1. His plates 43 and 44 are a kylix in the British Museum, B 436; Torr, *Ancient Ships* (Cambridge, 1894), figs. 18 and 17; Harrison and McColl, *Greek Vase Paintings*, pl. 7. His plate 45 is a kylix in the Louvre, F 123, signed by Nikosthenes; Torr, fig. 19; *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, 1890-91, pl. 6, 2; Hoppin, *Handbook*, p. 261. His plate 46 is an oinochoe in the British Museum, B 508; *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, I, p. 197, fig. 12. Others: British Museum amphora B 240 (*CVA* pl. 58, 4; Harrison and McColl, pl. 2); Louvre hydria E 735 (Daremberg-Saglio II, p. 1674); Cecil Smith, *Forman Collection*, no. 322 (kylix with ships on the outside); Athens, pinax (Graef, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis*, no. 2414, pl. 98; *CVA* Scheurleer, fasc. 1, III H d-f, pl. 6, nos. 8-9; British Museum E 2 (Walters, *Ancient Pottery*, I, pl. 37) and B 679; Louvre F 145 (*CVA* pl. 88; *JHS* 1932, p. 189); Berlin 1800; Bibliothèque Nationale 322 (*CVA* pl. 53; De Ridder, *Catalogue*, I, p. 219). The last six are kylixes with ships on the inside. The most recent discussion of ancient ships is the article *Seewesen* by Miltner, in the fifth *Supplementband* of Pauly-Wissowa.

³Furtwängler-Reichhold 42; Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung* III, fig. 231; Hoppin, *Handbook*, p. 99; Köster, pl. 42.

This kind of rigging is used also in the famous kylix which Exekias signs as painter³ and in our fragment, where the incisions for the beginning of the two ropes at the end of the yard are clearly visible (though not in the photograph). There are also incisions crossing the yard, for the ropes that attach the sail to the yard, exactly as in the Exekias kylix. And in other features, as far as preserved in the fragment, the ship is very similar to that of the kylix; much more than either resembles any other ship. This is partly a matter of quality: the decoration of our fragment is distinctly superior to that of any other ship-dinos, with the possible exception of the Castellani vase, which can hardly be judged from the illustrations available. Aside from the excellence of the execution, there is none of the other dinoi in which the figures on top are identified by inscriptions, and indeed none except the Castellani vase with any inscriptions at all. It is probable, though naturally not certain, that our rim had a unified picture on top⁴, which is true of none of the others. It is clear that the fragment belonged to a dinos altogether more notable than any other known.

These considerations naturally suggest that Exekias may have painted the dinos. The stern and dainty warrior on the ship is quite in his character. The crinkly chiton is less used by Exekias than by some of his contemporaries, but it does occur in his work. The lettering of the inscriptions tells somewhat against an attribution to him; it is scarcely as neat as his usual lettering (though perhaps not inferior to that of the Castellani dinos, as shown in Mingazzini's facsimile), and the kappa and delta have unusual forms which do not recur, to my knowledge, in his inscriptions. If it should turn out, after all, that the fragment does belong to the Castellani vase⁵, the style of the one and the signature of the other would probably leave no doubt that Exekias was the painter.

A nautical feature may be mentioned briefly. The ram of ships like ours is often said to be in the form of a boar's head, and "this type was characteristic of Samian ships in the days of Polykrates, who ruled there from 532 to 522 B. C."⁶ It does appear from the ancient writers that there was a type of ship called "Samian," and that it had a ram in the form of a boar's head; and Plutarch says that this type originated in the reign of Polykrates. But nobody says that boar's-head rams were first used in these

⁴It would be somewhat like the scene on the Nikosthenes krater in the British Museum (Hoppin, *Handbook*, p. 207).

⁵Professor J. D. Beazley, having seen illustrations of the Chicago fragment, writes that in his opinion it does not belong to the Castellani dinos; also that it was formerly in the collection of Mr. E. P. Warren and, according to the Warren register, came from Attica.

⁶Torr, p. 65, with the relevant passages.

ships; and, in fact, a ram of this type, complete even to the ears (which are often omitted, as in our fragment), appears on the famous François vase, made about 560 B. C.⁷ Hence there is no reason for supposing that our ship is an example of the Samian type, nor does the mention of Polykrates give evidence on its date. From the connections with Exekias one may infer that the dinos was painted between 550 and 530 B. C.

⁷Furtwängler-Reichhold, 13. Some of the central part of the ship is lost; Reichhold's drawing of the after part is frequently reproduced in the books, the prow apparently never.

A ŚIVA NATARAJA IN THE MUSEUM OF THE RHODE ISLAND SCHOOL OF DESIGN

By ALVAN C. EASTMAN
Cambridge, Massachusetts

The Śiva Nataraja or the Lord's Dance is one of the great original concepts of Indian art, and the Museum of the Rhode Island School of Design is particularly fortunate to own such a fine example of this image. As conceived by the Savaite sect, Śiva Nataraja is a metaphysical concept expressive of the duality of the Universe. Śiva — one of the major deities in the Hindu triad, in his Nataraja form — is seen in his aspect of Creator and Destroyer, and is known as the Lord of the Dance. In this sense, the world is conceived as undergoing continual change: it is being destroyed on the one hand, and created on the other. Such is the normal life process and Śiva Nataraja is its cause.

How is this duality expressed in a single image seen in the bronze figure here reproduced? In India the very dance itself is a symbol of creation while dancing upon the back of the demon dwarf Maulakaya symbolizes destruction, in the Savaite sense of the word, destruction of ignorance or illusion. These concepts are not only indicated but manifest in the image, so exact is the language of Indian iconography.

Thus, the energy of the world is set in motion by the whirling dance while creation itself is specifically symbolized in the drum held in the upper right hand (as well as in the dance), sound being regarded as the primary manifestation of creative energy. Destruction is manifest in the fire held in the upper left hand, and also in the foot planted upon the back of the



ŚIVA NATARAJA (Bronze)
Museum of the Rhode Island School of Design

dwarf, Maulakaya, the implication here being the destruction of ignorance or illusion, while salvation is manifest in the upper right hand whose raised fingers give the sign of assurance or protection (*abhaya mudra*). So also does the lower left hand bestow salvation by pointing to the foot of the Lord, signifying that salvation is found therein. Dr. Coomaraswamy has compared this concept with the "footstool of the most high."

What may not be clear to the observer unfamiliar with Indian art are the strands behind the head. These are disarrayed or "matted locks" of the deity, in his aspect of yogi or ascetic, the locks thought of as extended due to the violent movement of the dance. The ends of the locks are tied in knotted curls while the hair on the head is dressed high in the usual *jata mukata* coiffure, the ends tied with cobra hoods, seen just above the skull mask. The peacock plumes rising in fan shape from the headdress are a characteristic ornament of all Nataraja images. In nearly all instances and here also, the extended locks are separately cast.

Another indication of the yogi aspect of Śiva is the body, nude, except for tiger skin drawers and jewelry. The reason for the animal garment owes itself to an early legend in the mythology of Śiva; namely, that his enemies had sent a tiger to destroy him, but the great Yogi ripped the skin from the animal's back and wrapped it about his waist.

Jewelry is the characteristic ornament of all major deities, Brahmanical and Buddhist (although not worn by the Buddha himself excepting the rare "crowned Buddha"), and hence Śiva wears the usual jewelry such as necklaces (*mala*), armlets (*keyura*), bracelets (*kankana*), anklets (*nupara*), and a diadem (*usnisa bhusana*) banding the forehead. There are also earrings (*kundala*); but in the instance of Śiva, there are two types of earrings, masculine and feminine.

As we noted earlier, Śiva represents the duality of the Universe. Not only is this true philosophically but physically, so that the deity is conceived as combining both sexes in the one body. So accurate are the descriptions contained in the *Shastras*, the canonical texts which all Indian craftsmen use in order to visualize the deity mentally before setting to work, that they allow for this duality by describing the dual type of earrings. The round earring (*patra kundala*) is the feminine variety and is worn only by women in India; while the other having the terminus of an aquatic demon (*Makara kundala*) is a masculine variety.

Because of the richness of Indian legend and metaphysics it is possible for the imager to make reference to several legends pertaining to one deity and image. Nowhere is this more true than in the case of Nataraja bronzes.

This fertility in reference is found in representing a third eye in Śiva's forehead, referring to another ancient Savaite legend of hostile and evil forces attacking Śiva. In this instance an asura, or demon, sought to blind the god but Śiva immediately opened up the eye in his forehead and its brilliance destroyed the demon with a single glance. Later the third eye came to be associated with wisdom and was thought of as potentially existing in all mankind.

Finally, the summing up of the metaphysical concepts in this image is found in the Prabha Mandala or aura surrounding the body fringed with flame. Philosophically the aura symbolizes the "Dance of Nature," "material and individual energy," as stated by Dr. Coomaraswamy, "reflecting that of the informing power."¹

How does the worshipper, it may be asked, approach such a concept and in what way is the worship paid? It should be clearly understood that he does not worship the image *per se*, but that the deity is thought of as residing in the image when and after the priest approves it for worship. The deity may come and go and is invoked for purposes of worship and dismissed as the case may be. In devotions, the worshipper recites mantrams or prayers which describe the deity and the particular aspect seen in the image. By this verbal description, the worshipper is enabled to visualize the deity mentally with the aid of the image before him, and hence, as it were, secure the ear of the Lord. Such a prayer is quoted by Mr. Gangoly in his *South Indian Bronzes*, as follows: "Calling by the beat of the drum all persons engrossed in worldly affairs, the kind-hearted one who destroys the fear of the meek and gives reassurance and points by his hand to his upraised lotus foot as the refuge of salvation and also carries the fire of destruction, and who dances in the assembly hall (Universe), let the Lord of the Dance protect us."²

The provenance of the Nataraja images is naturally in the section of the country where Savaism flourished, and that was the South of India. Bronze casting in fact for other sects of Hinduism seems to have been particularly developed in the South, largely from the tenth to the early nineteenth century and even continues today. But the large Nataraja images seem generally to have been cast from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century although a few instances exist of earlier ones. Very few bronzes of this subject have thus far appeared with dated inscriptions and until they do, dating will

¹A. Coomaraswamy, *Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, 1923, II, p. 91.

²O. C. Gangoly, *South Indian Bronzes*, 1915, Calcutta, Indian Society of Oriental Art, plate IV.

remain a matter of some uncertainty. For, unlike many objects which can be assigned stylistic analysis alone, not all bronze Natarajas can be accurately dated by this method.

The Nataraja of the Museum of the Rhode Island School of Design has several characteristics which on evidence of style alone lead me to suggest sixteenth century dating. It conforms stylistically to this dating when compared with later examples such as those dating about 1800 in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and the Brooklyn Museum.

Stylistic evidence for sixteenth century dating, although dating of Indian bronzes is hazardous, is the fine agility of the figure in the dance, the lightness of posture and firm yet graceful modeling. The earlier dating as compared with the 1800 examples is particularly suggested by the height of the upraised foot, the later images always having the foot lower and appearing somewhat heavy as compared with the lightness of the foot and fine expression of agility in the image under discussion. Furthermore, details of jewelry are clearly defined and not vague as they usually are in later examples. A still further evidence for earlier dating of this image is the oval Prabha Mandala or aura; the later varieties are nearly always circular such as is seen in the image in the Brooklyn Museum. In this connection, one should observe that the flames in the Providence image have movement while the flames in the larger images are regular and static by comparison. Above all, the earlier dating in the Providence bronze is suggested in the large oval lotus throne (the Universe of the dance); those of the later images are diminished in size and tend to become circular in shape.

The grace and lightness of posture in the Providence image may be compared with the lightness of posture in the Boston Nataraja of the seventeenth century, which in itself has the style of an earlier image. But the Providence image has the further distinction, unlike a number of earlier examples including the earlier Boston one, of having complete the Prabha Mandala with flame motifs. Altogether the Nataraja at the Museum of the Rhode Island School of Design is one of the better examples now in American collections.

A VERSION OF J.-C. MARIN'S BATHER

BY MARVIN CHAUNCEY ROSS
Baltimore, Maryland

Paul Mantz once wrote that J.-C. Marin was "un joli petit maître gréco-prudhonnien." Marin belongs among the "little masters" of the eighteenth century, forgotten by those who think only of names familiar to all, remembered only by a few, those who dwell upon the century in which the fragile and delicate were worshipped, even carried to perfection.

Born in 1759, Joseph-Charles Marin¹ became a pupil of Clodion under whose spell he remained for many years. His early work is close to and often confused with Clodion's own production.² He began sculpturing nymphs and bacchantes in terracotta at least by 1786, as witness the head of a Bacchante in the Victoria and Albert Museum, signed and dated³ in that year.

In 1791 he exhibited at the salon a long list of bas-reliefs, groups, statues and busts. Thereafter he was a frequent exhibitor. In his terracottas of the 1790's he worked in the manner of the eighteenth century, but at times, as in the classic nose of the mother in the *Canadiens aux tombeaux de leur enfant* of 1794, he was not untouched by the classicism of David.⁴

In 1801 he won the *Prix de Rome*. At first he was wary of Rome — "je crains de m'être trop loins de ma nation"⁵ — but soon was completely captivated by it. The letters he wrote at this time indicate he was an escapist. He preferred Rome to life in France during those harsh times. He remained there a sixth year, being granted further time for his work in moving the Borghese collection.⁶

Marin's letters⁷ from Rome speak of work on a statue of a woman bathing that he had begun in Paris. This Bather is mentioned more than once. He writes of a version of about three feet high that he was preparing for the Salon. This may be the one of about a metre in height that he exhibited in

¹S. Lami, *Dictionnaire des sculpteurs de l'école française au XVIII^e siècle*. Paris, 1911, vol. II. P. Marmottan, *Les arts en Toscane sous Napoléon*. Paris, 1901, p. 51. H. J., "La sculpteur J.-C. Marin," in *Nouvelle archives de l'art français*, 1889, V, p. 275.

²Michel, *Histoire de l'art*, VII, Paris, 1924, p. 595.

³Photo at Frick Art Reference Library. Cf. *The Connoisseur*, Sept., 1917, vol. 49, p. 11. Also J. Bache collection.

⁴Sale Catalogue, P. DeCourcelle, Paris, 29-30, March, 1911, No. 197. Illus.

⁵Paul Bonnefon, "Quelques lettres inédits de J.-C. Marin," in *Chroniques des arts et de la curiosité*, 1901-2, p. 285 (1901).

⁶H. La Pauze, "Un grand prix de Rome de 42 ans: J.-C. Marin" in *Bulletin de l'art anc. et mod.* 1909, p. 40.

⁷Paul Bonnefon, *op. cit.*, 1901, p. 285.



J.-C. MARIN: "UNE BAIGNEUSE"
Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore



"UNE BAIGNEUSE"
 DETAIL

1808.⁸ Again he writes to a friend in Paris that he was doing another of "la petite baigneuse" for Monsieur Collet, this time "de grandeur naturelle." Lastly he exhibited at the Salon of 1822,⁹ a bather, presumably another version of the same that he had sent in 1808 to the Salon of that year.

A number of versions of Marin's Bather exist in both marble and other media. The marble formerly in the Lehman collection¹⁰ is described as being 91 centimeters high, approximately the same height given in Marin's letter of 1803 referring presumably to the figure exhibited in 1808. The same collection contained another in terracotta, slightly different, also attributed to Marin.¹¹ The William R. Hearst collection has still another from the Robert Schuman collection.¹² The Macret collection¹³ in the Musée des Arts Decoratifs has what is described as a sketch.

The marble version¹⁴ in the Walters Art Gallery was acquired in 1926. It is only 31 inches high and so probably not the one that Marin was making in 1803 for the Salon nor yet the replica, "de grandeur naturelle" ordered by Monsieur Collet. Of the version at the Salon in 1822, I have no dimensions. It could possibly be that one for there can be no question that the statue is by Marin. It has all the earmarks of his handiwork, even to the somewhat clumsy, heavy legs. Besides, it corresponds in composition to the engraving of the similar work in the catalogue of the 1808 Salon.

In connection with these statues by Marin it is of interest to quote from Dingé's letter to him. Dingé was an admirer of Clodion and a friend to Marin. In writing about the Bather he quoted these lines written by Madam de Pompadour's Cardinal Bernis: "L'embarras de paraître nue, Fait l'attrait de la nudité."¹⁵ Although Marin had turned to the study of the antique, yet it is in the spirit of Bernis' verses that, I feel, we must look at the Bather. She is, in fact, not a classic nymph bathing, but a young girl just undressed and ready to bathe. Marin has taken classical features, pose and subject, yet he retained the spirit of the eighteenth century as expressed in the words of Bernis.

⁸*Explications des ouvrages de peinture, sculpture etc exposés au Musée Napoleon.* Paris, 1808, No. 715.

⁹Same, April, 1822, no. 1456.

¹⁰Sale Catalogue, Paris, 4-5, June, 1925, no. 57. L. Roger-Milès, "Les grandes ventes: la coll. Lehman," in *Bul. de l'art anc. et mod.* 1925, I, p. 171.

¹¹Sale Catalogue, no. 56. Height 76 cm.

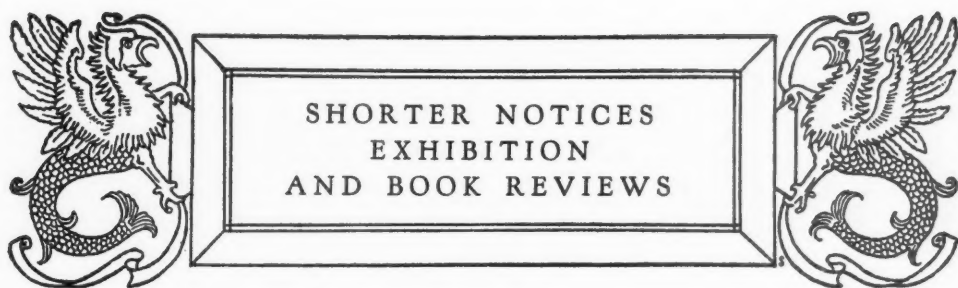
¹²From Robert Schuman Sale, 1936. Height 30 inches. Now in the collection of Dr. Douglas H. Gordon, Baltimore, Md.

¹³L. Roger-Milès, *L'exposition d'art français du XVIII^e siècle: album commémoratif.* Paris, 1916, under no. 54.

¹⁴No. 27.386. Said to be from the Raoul Cabany collection. H. 30¾".

¹⁵Paul Bonnefon, *op. cit.*, 1901, p. 291.

The neo-classic period in France produced no great sculptor. The great eighteenth century sculptors such as Clodion who lived on into the nineteenth century were not able to make the change successfully. Marin, seeking refuge in Rome, came nearest to succeeding. His *Bather*, although eighteenth century with only a neo-classic outer semblance, was popular at the time judging from the contemporary records of copies and also the number that still exist. It is a curious anomaly that the neo-classic movement in France should have been most successful in painting, although sculpture, one would think, ought to have been its most natural medium. Curious also is the fact that Marin, pupil and admirer of Clodion, should have come nearest to having fulfilled the role of neo-classic sculptor in France.



AN EARLY OVERMANTEL

Although the crudely painted panel here reproduced (opp. p. 231) has some interest as a work of folk-art — chiefly because of its unorthodox design and mysterious symbolization — its obvious importance is historical. When first published¹, it was conjectured that the group of clergymen were enjoying a friendly meeting, with their pipes and beer, the "foaming mugs" which were earlier observed now being painted over. However, x-ray examination discloses that there were no mugs or pots and that there is no essential difference between the details visible in the original pigment and in the areas of repaint.² On the table are pens, a sheet of paper, and a book, in addition to the pipes, a bowl for ashes and a candle for lighting the pipes. The paper to which the clergyman at the head of the table points, and the pens, suggest a serious rather than a convivial meeting. And the inscription above, "In necessariis unitas: in non necessariis libertas: in utriusque charitas," is plainly applicable to a serious council. It was not unusual for clergymen to smoke.³

The meaning of the scene is suggested by the fact that the clergyman at the head of the table, the chairman, is Rev. John Lowell of Newbury(port), Mass. Crudely painted as his features are, they resemble those in the portrait painted by or after Nathaniel Emmons.⁴ Furthermore the picture hung in his house "in the back room," until it was purchased about 1851.⁵ The period is suggested not only by the type of wig worn by all but one of the clergymen, but by the circumstance that there are seven gentlemen present. Lowell had been host in 1740 to Rev. George Whitefield whose disturbing eloquence had divided the community into the "New Lights" and the "Legalists." Church members questioned the sincerity of their leaders and even withdrew from communion to form new churches.⁶ These defections, particularly those from the

¹*Antiques*, XI, 45. George Lunt, in *Old New England Traits*, saw before each figure "a foaming mug of ale and each supplied with a tobacco pipe from which rolled volumes of narcotic fumes."

²The panel—41¾" x 30¾"—has suffered damage (from heat?) at the lower left and center. Part of the table in the foreground has been repainted. And a tree (?), the leaves of which appear faintly on and over the capital in the center, has been abraded almost out of existence. The curved line separating the two halves of the picture appears to be all that remains of the highlight on the trunk. The varnish is so darkened that the reproduction here given had to be made by infra-red light.

³Tutor Flynt, on a trip to Portsmouth in 1754 enjoyed his pipe after meals. See young Sewall's account.

⁴An oil painting, mounted like a mezzotint with full inscription painted below, is owned by Mr. Ralph Lowell, Westwood, Mass.

⁵James Russell Lowell wrote in 1850, "and there is still in the house he lived in in Newbury a painted panel representing a meeting of the neighboring clergy, each with his pipe — and his pot." Thomas Wentworth Higginson bought the panel for James Russell Lowell; he left Newburyport in 1852. See J. J. Currier, *Old Newbury*, 1896, p. 449.

⁶See the reference in note 5, also the same author's *History of Newbury, Mass., 1635-1902*, Boston, 1902, also Minnie Atkinson, *History of the First Religious Society in Newburyport*, 1933.

First Parish, under the aging Rev. Christopher Toppan led to the calling of a council of the eight churches in Newbury, which took place on July 24, 1744. Dr. Toppan "and his friends" abstained from attending. It would seem evident that the painting is a representation of Lowell's efforts to compromise the current differences at this particular meeting.

Nevertheless, there are certain difficulties in following this interpretation of the picture. Queen Anne's Chapel and St. Paul's Church were served by the same minister, Rev. Matthias Plant, so that with Toppan's absence there should have been only six clergymen present. Also, the Presbyterian Church, under Rev. Jonathan Parsons, was not immediately recognized and had no official meeting house until 1746, two years after the council in question. However, Parsons' presence was essential to the success of the meeting, since it was he who had led thirty families away from Toppan and thirty-eight from Lowell. And the lack of official recognition does not preclude his attendance. As for the seventh clergyman⁷, it is to be noted that only Toppan and his friends were absent, which is a strange statement in view of the assumption that each Church was represented by its minister. Actually, the First Parish had an assistant minister, Rev. John Tucker, who was made associate pastor in 1745, two years before Toppan's death. Since he was an Arminian, opposed to absolute predestination, it may well be that his conservative superior did not count him among his friends. Thus the statement concerning Toppan's absence from the council almost implies that Tucker did attend. Certainly a representative of the First Parish was as important to this meeting as a representative of the Presbyterians. And analysis of a crude portrait of Tucker⁸ leads one to guess that he is represented in the group of ministers on the right in the foreground.

The meaning of the left half of the picture is more uncertain. The six swans in groups of three each, the roughly indicated sloops and the craggy structure at the extreme left are unconnected with the council scene, except possibly by symbolization. The swans may suggest faithfulness, but why only six? Perhaps the Presbyterians were not honored with a symbol; and the two Episcopalian churches naturally would share one swan. The sloops may suggest the vacillation of the people, tacking in different directions, but why three? They might suggest the opposite, the steady breeze of true faith. The crag may be anything — a beacon, a fortress, Mount Ararat — the artist did not use details definite enough to make his meaning clear. The supposition that the words of the inscription are symbolized in the view at the left seems far-fetched, since the painted objects have little unity, only a vague liberty and no apparent charity.

Presumably the artist⁹ was as vague in symbolization as he was in delineating boats. His hand was heavy, his brush coarse and his paint was stiff — except in the inscription. Or did he let some professional sign painter make the letters? They are neatly and freely done, so freely that the "R" in the first "necessariis" was omitted and had to be squeezed into a monogram with the "A." The ornamental setting for the group of

⁷The others may have been Rev. Thomas Barnard, ordained minister of the Second Church in 1738-9, resigned 1750; Rev. William Johnson, ordained 1731 in the Fourth Church, died 1772; Rev. Moses Parsons, ordained 1744 in the Congregational Church in the district of Byfield; Rev. John Lowell, ordained 1725-6, Third Church, died 1767.

⁸See *The First Parish, Newbury, Mass.*, edited by Eliza Adams Little and Lucretia Little Ilsley, Newburyport, 1935. He had a wide straight mouth and a large nose that joins his forehead in a sweeping line. The clergyman at the right center also has a bridgeless nose, but a heavy upper lip, like Jonathan Parsons. See the history of the Presbyterian movement in Newburyport.

⁹Considered by James Russell Lowell to have been a parishioner of Rev. John Lowell. Perhaps the same artist painted the so-called *View of Louisburg*, owned by Mrs. Taber Low, Kittery Point, Maine, which deserves consideration by itself.

ministers is done with the easy strokes of a decorative painter. But there is no proof that the same hand did not also paint the heavy wigs and streaky hills. Whoever the painter was, he was no ship's painter (see the unnautical sloops) and he was not accustomed to taking likenesses, let alone observing nature.

— ALAN BURROUGHS

WILLIAM VERSTILLE'S CONNECTICUT MINIATURES

The miniature painter William Verstill (c. 1755-1803) is known to have worked in Philadelphia, Boston and Salem. He was painting as early as 1769, advertised in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* in 1782, was working in Salem in 1802, and died in Boston in 1803.¹ An item in Dr. Bentley's "Diary," quoted by Mr. Bolton, states: "My miniature was by Hazlitt, now celebrated in London. The dress was changed by Verstill from Connecticut."² Here is a positive indication that Verstill was at some time working in Connecticut. The miniature of Caleb Bull of Hartford in the Garvan Collection, Yale University Art Gallery, is signed by Verstill and was undoubtedly painted in Connecticut. The surmise that Verstill worked in Connecticut is more fully substantiated by the seven miniatures executed in Connecticut now added to the small group of known miniatures by William Verstill.³ These Connecticut miniatures, judging chiefly from the apparent age of the sitters were mostly executed in the 1790's. Only two of them are signed, but all are entirely characteristic of the painter's style. (Repr. opp. p. 239.)

DANIEL BARNES (1772-99). Oval ivory $2\frac{3}{4}$ " x $1\frac{7}{8}$ ". Signed "Verstill" at lower left. Executed in New Haven, in or about 1793. Daniel Barnes was born and died on the island of St. Croix in the West Indies. He married Mehitabel Sherman daughter of the Hon. Roger Sherman in New Haven in 1793, at the age of 21. *Present whereabouts of miniature unknown.*

JOHN O'BRIEN of New London, Conn. (1761-1827). Oval ivory $2\frac{1}{4}$ " x $1\frac{3}{4}$ ". *Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Conn.*

AMY (Newson) O'BRIEN of New London, Conn. Oval ivory $2\frac{1}{4}$ " x $1\frac{7}{8}$ ". *Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Conn.*

MAJOR-GENERAL WILLIAM HART of Saybrook, Conn. (1746-1817). Oval ivory $2\frac{5}{8}$ " x $2\frac{1}{8}$ ". General Hart was the eldest son of Rev. William Hart of Saybrook. He married Esther Buckingham in 1768 and Lucy Buckingham in 1812. He was a major-general in the Revolutionary War, and was for several years a candidate for governor of Connecticut. *Colt Collection, Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Conn.*

COL. RICHARD WILLIAM HART of Hartford, Conn. (1768-1837). Oval ivory $1\frac{7}{8}$ " x $1\frac{5}{8}$ ". Colonel Hart was the only child of General William Hart of Saybrook and his first wife Esther Buckingham. He married Elizabeth Bull of Newport, R. I., in 1795. He died in Saybrook, Conn., aged 68. *Colt Collection, Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Conn.*

COL. RICHARD WILLIAM HART. Another copy of above, same size, slight differences in coloring and execution. *Colt Collection, Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Conn.*

ELIZABETH (Bull) HART (1772-1843). Oval ivory $1\frac{7}{8}$ " x $1\frac{3}{8}$ ". Signed "Verstill" at lower right. Mrs. Hart was born in Newport, R. I. She died at Hartford in her 71st year. *Colt Collection, Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Conn.*

— JEAN LIPMAN

¹Cf. Frank W. Bayley, *Little Known Early American Portrait Painters* and Theodore Bolton, *Early American Portrait Painters in Miniature*. N. Y., Frederic Fairchild Sherman, 1921.

²Bolton, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

³Miniatures by Verstill generally known to date: *Endersleigh Burlingham and Caleb Bull*, Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Conn.; *Jacob Crowninshield*, coll. Mrs. William C. Endicott, Jr., Danvers, Mass.; *Mrs. Mary Crowninshield Silsbee*; *George Washington*, coll. Frederic Jay Wells, New Canaan, Conn.; *Mary Robinson Pulling*, coll. William Hutchinson Pyncheon Oliver, Morristown, N. J.; *Captain John Canton*, U. S. N., Essex Institute; *John Dabney, Post Master, 1809*, Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.; *Josiah Ward, Jr.*; *Mrs. Susanna Hoyoke Ward 1803*, coll. Miss. M. W. Nichols.

ANOTHER PANEL FROM THE ALTAR OF ST. ENGRACIA
BY BARTOLOMÉ BERMEJO

Few paintings by Bartolomé Bermejo are known so that the discovery of another panel by the greatest of the fifteenth century Spanish artists is interesting in itself; but the coincidence of the finding of another section from the altar of Santa Engracia so soon after the publication of the *Scene of Martyrdom* (private collection in Madrid)¹ is remarkable.

It is most probable that the complete altar was in its original state in the Church of Santa Engracia at Saragossa at least until the time of the Napoleonic Wars. The breaking up of the altar must have taken place either at this time or about a quarter of a century later when the suppression of the religious orders in Spain occurred. Parts of the altar may have been removed or destroyed when the French after a long siege entered the city of Saragossa by blowing up part of the walls of the city near the Church and Convent of Santa Engracia. The church and convent were almost entirely destroyed by the explosion.

However the center panel of the altar now in the Gardner Museum at Fenway Court, Boston, formerly in the Somzée Collection, Brussels, has a legend attached to it which says that it was saved from a church at the time of the religious suppressions in 1835 by a family of Saragossa who later placed it in the Hall of Justice of the town. The first trace of our newly discovered panel is its appearance in the Gavet Collection of Paris, as by Jean de Bourgogne, a painter who in 1495 was in the service of the archbishop of Toledo.

The panel which is here reproduced for the first time under its rightful attribution represents the *Arrest of the Martyr Saint*. The magistrate directing the *Scene of Martyrdom* (Madrid) is here seen ordering the arrest. He wears the identical costume in both pictures. Likewise we find the Saint dressed in the rich attire of the Gardner and Madrid panels. Among the figures surrounding the scene of capture is a personage with the same countenance and pose as in the Madrid scene and bearing a very striking resemblance to the famous Santo Domingo de Silos likewise by Bermejo now in the Prado Museum.

The shape of the panel which accentuates the crowded composition clearly indicates that it must have formed part of an upper row of paintings. The evident use of foreshortening by placing the main participants on horseback in contrast to the dwarf-like individual at the right who holds the reins of the horse of the Saint is another indication that the picture had been painted for placing high above the ground. In the center at the very bottom of the panel we see the trace of what must have been the top of the framing of a panel forming a lower row of paintings. On the other hand, the Madrid picture, because of its shape, must be a panel from the lower row.

It is interesting to note that our newly discovered panel has enough of the original edges to indicate the elaborate network of gilded wood carving which must have formed the framing of the altarpiece, probably in the style of the frame still existing around the Santo Domingo de Silos. The right and left side edges have a blue strip of paint which must have been the background for just such openwork framing.

We do not know the actual size of the whole altar, in fact we do not know its complete shape or how many panels it contained. However the combination of the Madrid panel² and our panel³ gives us an idea of the minimum height. The Gardner

¹*Art in America*, October, 1939, reproduced page 155.

²92 cm. high; 52 cm. wide.

³92 cm. high; 49.5 cm. wide. The area of the whole panel including the painted blue edges originally covered by the openwork frame is 97.5 cm. high and 54 cm. wide.



BARTOLOMÉ BERMEJO: THE ARREST OF SANTA ENGRACIA
PANEL FROM THE ALTARPIECE OF S. ENGRACIA
Private Collection, U. S. A.



SEVILLE SCHOOL, EARLY 17TH CENTURY: THE POULTERER
Museum of Historic Art, Princeton University



COUNCIL OF NEWBURYPORT CHURCHES IN 1744 (Overmantel)
Property of Mrs. A. Kingsley Porter, James Russell Lowell House, Cambridge, Mass.

painting⁴ unfortunately has been reduced both at the top and bottom and probably cut on both sides up to the very edge of the paint area, cutting away the edging of blue which was covered by the frame.

The richness of color, the beauty of detail, the enamel-like quality of the pigment, the strength of expression in the individual heads and the compactness and monumentality of the composition make our panel one of the most attractive of Bermejo's works.

— HARRY G. SPERLING

⁴*Art in America*, October, 1939, reproduced opposite page 156. 164.2 cm. high; 73.6 cm. wide.

THE POULTERER, A PROBLEM PICTURE

Some years ago the Museum of Historic Art of Princeton University bought at auction in Baltimore the striking picture of a poulterer which is here reproduced. It is on canvas, measures 28" x 35½", and is in excellent condition. Except for a good halftone in the auction catalogue it is unpublished. It has been many years in the United States, in the Spicer Collection, of which I have no information, and was shown in the annual exhibition of the Pennsylvania Academy in 1890. The auction catalogue described it as Spanish School XVII century, which seemed to me as buyer the generic truth of the matter. There is no need to dwell upon the resoluteness of the execution and the force of character in the portrait. Owing to cramped conditions, the Museum has only occasionally been able to show this picture, which with its massive and handsome Stanford White frame overcrowds our walls, and it has never been studied or even seen by any great expert on the Spanish School. To me it seemed so closely to resemble in handling the early bust portrait of a bearded man in the Prado, 1619, and the old man in profile at the right of *Los Borachos*, 1628, that an ascription to Velasquez's early manner, say about 1625, might reasonably be considered. This hope was confirmed, informally, from a photograph, by Dr. Gustav Gluck writing from Vienna.

No other expert to whom a photograph has been sent has confirmed this view. Miss Enriquita Harris feels the picture is by an unknown but good Sevillian Master of about 1620. Dr. A. L. Mayer and Dr. Charles de Tolnay feel it is Italian, suggesting as possibilities, respectively, Passerotti and Agostino Carracci. I do not know their work in genre painting well enough to check such attributions, but I feel there are broad psychological reasons against them. If there exists an Italian genre painting which heroizes its subject, I have yet to see it. Whatever Italian genre painting stems directly or indirectly from Caravaggio always emphasizes the plebeian nature of the theme. You have no doubt that you are dealing with low life — are practicing esthetic slumming.

I doubt if any Italian genre painter could even have conceived this haggard middle-aged man who glances away from his humble job on a pair of sausages with the air of a saint and a sage. So far as I know the only nation that looks at a small shopkeeper in terms of human dignity is that unhappy yet noble nation in which the poorest man is addressed as *caballero*. These are imponderables, but there is no sound criticism or even expertise which ignores such imponderables.

With all deference for what are after all informal and unstudied opinions of colleagues who know the seventeenth century far better than myself, I feel sure we have to do with a Spanish picture. Beyond that I have no right to go, for while as a critic I have acquired some acquaintance with the so-called baroque period of European painting, I profess no expertise in that now popular field. I publish this picture to invite to it the attention of experts. It seems intrinsically worthy of a better fate than that of anonymity, and even of doubtful nationality, in the store-room of a small university museum.

— FRANK JEWETT MATHER, JR.

NEWLY DISCOVERED AMERICAN PORTRAIT PAINTERS

- FRYMIRE, JACOB. I examined on August 28, 1939, a rather good likeness of an unknown gentleman by this artist, inscribed on the back, "Painted by Jacob Frymire / April 1799." It had been found in Maryland.
- HAMILTON, AMOS. August 3, 1939, I saw at an antique shop near Lenox, Mass., a likeness of Governor Palmer (1831-1835) of Vermont by this artist. It was not an impressive work and evidently the painter was a local or itinerant artist.
- CROSS, H. H. I have recorded an oil portrait of "Rain-in-the-Face," the American Indian who is said to have killed General Custer. It is signed and dated 1892.
- FROST, —. A portrait painter who made likenesses of George and Martha Washington in 1875 and 1876, both of which are signed and dated.
- LOCK, F. W. I found in Manchester, Vermont, in the summer of 1939, a rather good pastel portrait, probably of a local gentleman, painted in an oval $9\frac{1}{8}$ inches high by $7\frac{1}{8}$ inches wide and signed and dated at the lower right, "F. W. Lock 1849."
- NORRIS, ROBERT. I saw in New York City in September, 1939, a pair of portraits (Caleb and Eleanor Martine) on brown paper, colored with chalk and burnt willow, each 20 inches high by 15 inches wide.
- HORN, H. J. This unrecorded portrait painter painted a number of likenesses in Connecticut in the mid-nineteenth century. His work is considerably better than that of the contemporary itinerant artists and indeed sometimes really good. I have examined two likenesses from his hand, the latest a small, 10 x 12-inch canvas, picturing a young man with yellow hair, blue eyes and olive complexion, wearing a black suit, white shirt and black bow tie. It is fully inscribed on the reverse, "Portrait of H. G. Denniston. H. J. Horn, Painter."
- CLARK, M. W. An artist of this name painted in 1853 a portrait of Rosa Jeffrey of Kentucky, a poetess born in 1828.
- MOORE, ABEL BUELL. A portrait painter who was working in and around Troy, New York, about 1800.
- ROBERTS, B. This artist advertised as a portrait painter in the *South Carolina Gazette* in 1735.
- SCHNABLE, E. An artist of this name was painting portraits about 1850.
- SMITH, CAPT. THOMAS. This artist executed a likeness of Dr. Ames for Harvard College and painted also his daughter and John Freake's Family. His portraits are primitive in type. Flourished 1680-1693.
- GILL, E. W. An artist who was painting cabinet portraits in Massachusetts about 1822.
- WOODWARD, DAVID A. There is a portrait of Henry Clay painted by this artist in Washington on the sitter's birthday in 1850.
- DREXEL, ANTHONY. I examined (Sept. 28, 1939) at Harry Stone's shop on East 58th Street, New York, a pair of portraits in oils, $17\frac{3}{4}$ inches high by 12 inches wide, representing a Mr. and Mrs. Biddle, each inscribed, signed and dated 1824 on the back, by this artist. They were in the original flat beveled mahogany frames and while primitive in style were good examples of their type.
- JONES, —. The Ferargil Galleries in New York exhibited in 1939 a pair of watercolor likenesses seated in typical interiors of the 1840's or 50's. They measured approximately 10 inches in height by 12 inches wide and were signed on the back by "Jones of Conn." and were cheerful in color and quaint in general effect.

TUQUA, EDWARD. I have record of a cabinet portrait painted in 1830 by this artist who was residing at that time in Westport, Connecticut.

HARRINGTON, G. This artist, probably the father or uncle of George Harrington, the landscape painter (b. 1833, d. 1911), painted portraits of Charles Tufts (the founder of Tufts College) and his wife. They are signed "G. Harrington" and dated "1839."

YOUNG, B. I examined, January 17, 1940, in New York, a rather well painted portrait of a hunter holding his gun in his right hand, seated with his dog at his left, out-of-doors. On cardboard 18½ inches high by 21 inches wide, it was inscribed on the reverse "J. G. Henry (?) by B. Young 1838."

— FREDERIC FAIRCHILD SHERMAN

THE OPENING EXHIBITION OF THE SANTA BARBARA MUSEUM

A new Art Museum became a potent factor in the community life of Santa Barbara, California, on June 5th. That it already is vitally important and will become still more as time goes on, is recognized by all classes of citizens.

Several outstanding features have brought out this quick public reaction. First the museum building itself, as a building and collection of galleries. It has dignity and simplicity; at the same time an inviting personal warmth, contrary to most museums. The public at once reacts with the feeling that "here is something touching my life." The artist immediately voices his reaction by exclaiming, "This is a grand place to show." The sizes, wall coloring and splendid lighting of the galleries are ideal from his point of view.

Donald Jeffries Bear, Director, formerly of the Denver Museum, has the imagination of an artist. To him the Museum in every detail must be a work of art. Exhibitions, lectures and musicals are designed and so integrated as to build into the community a living force for the emotional welfare of its members in a way that art alone can do.

Painting Today and Yesterday in the United States was chosen as the opening exhibition, and what could be more fitting for a new American Museum than to offer an opportunity of reviewing the country's entire pictorial life?

After a careful study of this remarkable and beautifully hung exhibition the thought arises with persistent force that there is an American norm in painting. This country's life in painting parallels one of the most brilliant sequences in the whole history of painting, David to Picasso; Neo-classicism to Cubism, and a reflection of all this is apparent throughout, yet fundamentally it remains American.

America stands paramount in the world as a nation motivated by the impulse to experience physical life to its fullest. Quite opposite is the Oriental, whose mysticism and religious fanaticism is a desire to get away from earthly and physical experience. The first leads to objective realism in art, the second to abstraction and symbolism.

Beginning with the early American portrait painters, fine examples in the present show, one *Self Portrait* by Copley, and another *Elizabeth Badlam Doggett* by Stuart, and passing through the Hudson River School of landscape painting on down to the contemporaries, the American norm is clearly the expression of an experience of objective nature. Surface textures may soften or harden to brittleness, Nature's mood may be gracious or cruel, but the fact remains that the pictorial expression is one of a sober searching realism.

Homer and Eakins above all others had this sense of physical fact to the highest

degree. Homer measured the power and weight of nature and expressed it with superlative force and integrity. Eakins was unrelenting in his search for the objective truth of form and character. His portraits were rarely pleasing to his sitters for there was no flattery, no compromise.

In the Santa Barbara show *Mortality and Immortality* by Robert Harnett, and *After The Bath* by Raphaele Peale, are the result of such intense observation they now fall into the modern classification, super-realism. Sheeler among the contemporaries moves in this society.

Through what might be called the sixth sense of physical reality, the American Artist working honestly and courageously will surely develop a new Aesthetics and when he does he will have the full understanding and appreciation of the American people.

—LYLA MARSHALL HARCOFF

NEW ART BOOKS

ARCHAEOLOGICAL PAPERS. By George W. Elderkin. 3 brochures—Nos. I and II, \$0.50 each; No. III, \$0.75. The Pond-Ekberg Company, Springfield, Mass., 1941.

Professor Elderkin is well known to the readers of this journal as an indefatigable interpreter of ancient art. In the papers under review, he concentrates on the subject matter rather than on the formal aspects of art. The first paper deals with the religious associations of the altar with incurved sides; the author cites many instances throughout the Mediterranean area and argues that the original deities who owned such altars were a couple—a male god of the Zeus-Ammon-Baal type and a goddess of the Aphrodite-Astarte-Tanit type. In the second paper he contemplates bathing Aphrodites; the famous Cnidia by Praxiteles is thought to represent the goddess of love as she is taking a ritual bath at a spring. The traditional view was that she is shown in a bathing house. The paper on the gifts offered by King Croesus of Lydia to the oracle in Delphi introduces a new reconstruction of the altar surmounted by a golden lion. It is suggested that the altar was made to resemble an archaic fountain of the kind shown in a sixth-century Etruscan tomb painting. In the third paper, the author re-interprets two Etruscan mirrors which represent Heracles suckling at the breast of Hera. Professor Elderkin presumes that these mirrors copy a Greek painting of the late fifth century B. C. Another famous Etruscan problem is tackled in the paper on Etruscan vases which represent the myth of Alcestis. On these vases, the plants are rendered in two different colors in order to symbolize the kingdoms of light and darkness; Alcestis leaves this world to go to the lower world. The Etruscan inscription, placed on one of the vases, is translated in a new and original fashion.

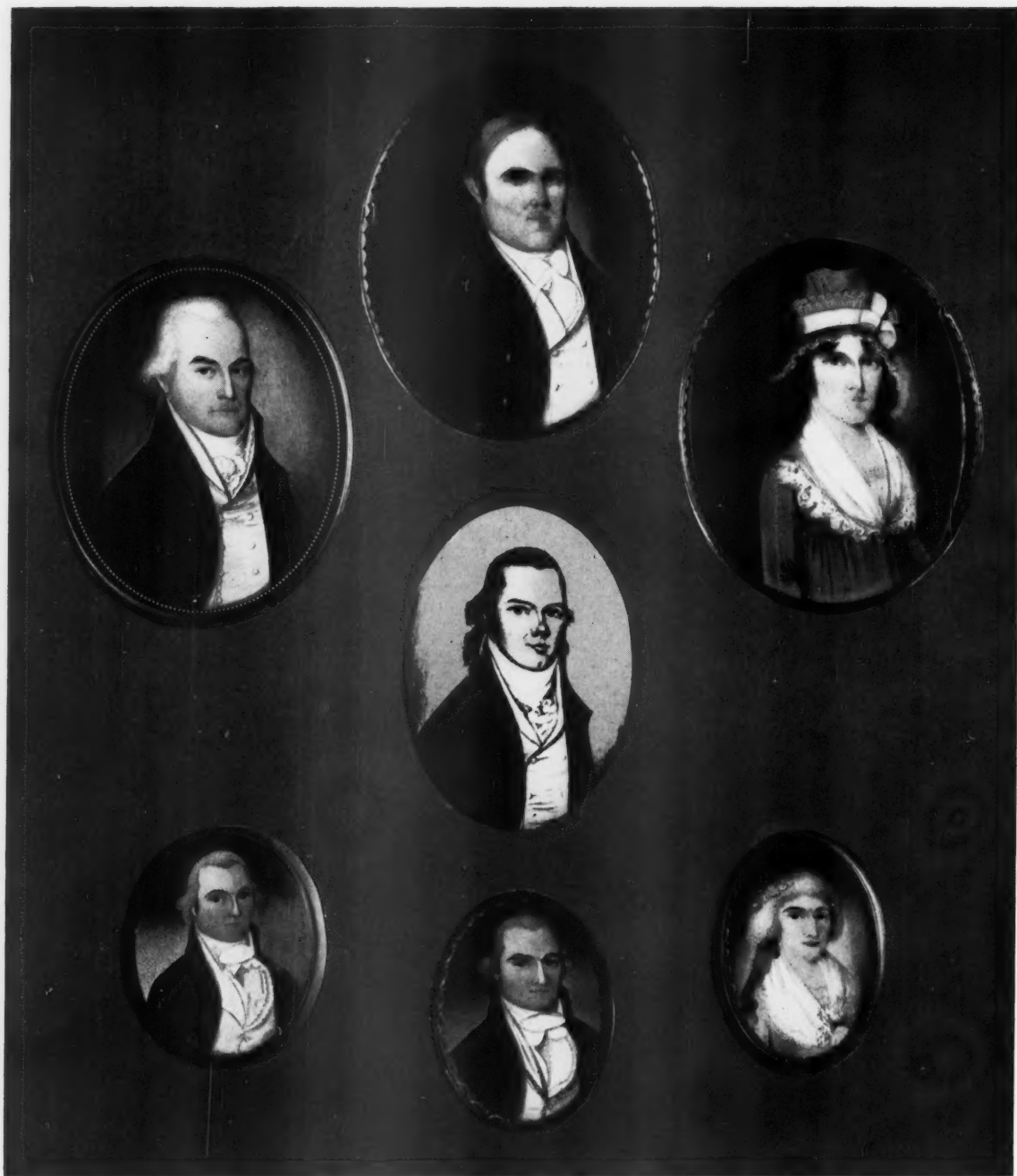
The obscure origins of the ægis are considered in the next paper. In the last essay, the Etruscan word for umpire, "tevarath," is connected with the name of the ancient Etruscan King Thebris. The underlying significance of both "tevarath" and Thebris is "separator."

The new contributions of Professor Elderkin are distinguished by dazzling erudition and brilliant ideas. The reader will find many stimulating and many provocative suggestions. He will also become aware of the multitude of problems with which scholars are faced in their attempts to interpret ancient monuments.

—GEORGE M. A. HANFMANN



ANONYMOUS NINETEENTH CENTURY AMERICAN: BUFFALO HUNTER
Property of Mr. and Mrs. Buell Hammett, Santa Barbara



WILLIAM VERSTILLE

*Top row, left to right: MAJOR-GENERAL WILLIAM HART, JOHN O'BRIEN, AMY (Newson) O'BRIEN
Wadsworth Athenium, Hartford*

Center: DANIEL BARNES. Present whereabouts unknown

*Bottom, left to right: COL. RICHARD WILLIAM HART, COL. RICHARD WILLIAM HART, ELIZABETH
(Bull) HART. Wadsworth Athenium, Hartford*

THE CODEx HUYGENS AND LEONARDO DA VINCI'S ART THEORY. By *Erwin Panofsky*. (Studies of the Warburg Institute, Vol. 13) 138 pp., 117 figs. The Pierpont Morgan Library Codex M. A. 1139. London, the Warburg Institute, 1940.

The title promises the publication of a new source for the history of artistic theory during the Renaissance. And that certainly is the main purpose of the book, though not the only one. Dr. Panofsky acquaints us here for the first time with a treatise of the later sixteenth century, tentatively, though with good reason, attributed by him to the Milanese painter, Aurelio Luini, which deals with a group of "regole" for the painter. It discusses the build of the human body, its movements and its proportions, the proportions of the horse, and problems of perspective. These subjects are co-ordinated in a most uncommon way: the section on perspective — completely at variance with the other discussions of this matter — deals almost exclusively with the human figure, that is with its appearance, from different angles, etc., altogether omitting the construction of three-dimensional space. This peculiarity alone would make the treatise extremely worth our attention. However, Dr. Panofsky has succeeded in discovering another interest in it: thirty-three of its illustrations are taken from Leonardo da Vinci, and sixteen of those preserve lost originals; hence Leonardo's name in the title of the book. The section of the Codex dealing with the human movements is the only one of its kind which has come down to us from the Renaissance. We know that Michelangelo planned a treatise on this subject, and of course Leonardo would have covered it in his big encyclopedia if it had ever been written. It is most likely, as Dr. Panofsky points out, that the author of the Codex Huygens derives his material indirectly from Leonardo.

Our anonymous author apparently was more of a painter than a writer. That may explain why Dr. Panofsky found it advisable to spare us his whole text. He limits himself to occasional verbatim quotation and gives mainly an English paraphrase of the original text. One is allowed to assume that in doing so he conveys to us the ideas of the manuscript with more clarity than its author himself commanded. The treatise is profusely illustrated with drawings, and these are anything but incompetent. Almost the whole series is reproduced in the book in excellent halftones. Thus the main material is presented in impeccable documentary form.

Dr. Panofsky's book goes far beyond a simple edition of a "new" author. The commentary in which he investigates the sources for the anonymous author and in which he establishes his historical significance reaches far into the history of art theory in general. In a few easily readable pages we find here a lucid summary of the results of some of Dr. Panofsky's most elaborate and most difficult studies on the history of perspective, the theory about human proportions, and the rules of human motion. The Mesopotamian sculptors, Euclid, and Vitruvius, on one side, and modern science and mathematics on the other may be quoted as indicating the extreme borderline of the field covered. The mention of the names of Villard d'Honnecourt, Alberti, Piero della Francesca, Pollaiuolo, Dürer, Lomazzo, will suffice to suggest the trend of the investigation. Leonardo and Dürer of course stand in the focal point. Quite a number of problems make brief if fascinating appearance, *e. g.*, the value which the plastic "modelino" may have for the painter of daring *scorzi*, the Gothic "pourtraicture," as we know it from Villard d'Honnecourt, the contrast between mediæval art theory and that of the Renaissance, etc. One of the most curious features of the Codex as pointed out by Dr. Panofsky is the unexpected appearance of certain principles from Euclid's optics. In his "regole" on perspective our anonymous author toys with the idea of a spherical field of vision, "headed," to quote Dr. Panofsky, "for that curvilinear perspec-

tive which dawned upon the great mathematicians of the seventeenth century, and was not developed before the nineteenth."

The reader of the book will admire the elegance and gallantry with which the author has attacked a difficult subject which at first glance might not seem to promise any too brilliant and interesting results. Starting from the material at hand, exhausting its possibilities, he has given a well-rounded picture of the history of some problems essential for the history of the theory of art. It is necessary to mention that the book is well supplied with indices and that it is exceedingly well produced, an encouraging sign of the imperturbability with which English printers pursue their work under the present hard conditions.

— ULRICH MIDDELDORF

RICHARD JENNYS, NEW ENGLAND PORTRAIT PAINTER. By *Frederic Fairchild Sherman*. The Pond-Ekberg Company, Springfield, Mass. 1941. 96 pp., 27 plates, \$10.00.

The Arts and Crafts began to be practiced, in New England at least, much earlier than is usually recognized. All through the first half of the XVIII Century they were in full swing in ever-increasing volume. A few European artists visited our shores and here and there a native painter worked successfully.

Beginning about 1760 several young Colonial Americans journeyed to Europe for training: West, C. W. Peale, Copley, Stuart and Trumbull, to mention only the best, and portraits by these native or visiting artists decorated the fine houses of the well-to-do in our cities of the period; but many others drew acceptable likenesses of the prominent soldiers, farmers and local statesmen of the towns and villages. These latter had not received a formal training in portraiture — although a few no doubt had learned the craft of coach painting — and later journeying from town to town executed signs and portraits as occasion offered. Unskilled in the higher branch of the painters' art they may have been, but they have left to us scores of good portraits — strong characterizations of a virile race — highly decorative for the home in which they were intended to hang, and, in a sense, better representing the average of our people of the day than the satins, silks, brocades, property pearls and rich accessories of their more sophisticated brethren.

Mr. Frederic Fairchild Sherman's book, "Richard Jennys," is the first dedicated to one of the unsung limners. Outside of the few lines in Dunlap, what is now known concerning him is due to Mr. Sherman's patient search and to that antiquarian spirit which burned strong in him along side of his love for the Arts in general, and the breadth of his taste is shown in this book; a side line, as it were, but one full of interest and illustrating a distinct phase of our National life.

It all came about from his discovery in 1925 of two portraits signed and dated 1794 by Richard Jennys. In the following years he found nineteen more. These he described and catalogued in *ART IN AMERICA* and the results are now published and prove to be a scholarly piece of reconstruction.

Richard Jennys must have had some instruction in engraving, at least, as the earliest of his works is the mezzotint of Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, advertised for sale in Boston by Nathaniel Hurd in July of 1766. This, and the strong probability that he executed one of Nathaniel Hurd himself, creates the possibility of his having worked under him.

In addition, Mr. Sherman unearthed the facts that Jennys painted in the West Indies and Charleston, S. C., but the greater number of his portraits yet found appear in the towns of Connecticut, and the simplicity and directness of his work entitle him

to consideration. His portraits of Daniel and Abigail Brinsmade, when compared with that of Ithamar Canfield, indicate that Jennys had seen and profited by the work of Ralph Earl. Again, that of Mrs. John Sherman, if by Jennys, was certainly inspired by similar compositions of Earl. Altogether this monograph on Richard Jennys is a welcome addition to the ever-growing list of source material on our early painters.

No critic is worth his salt unless he can deny some fact or disagree with an attribution; therefore, true to form, the writer suggests that the arrangement of the hair and the style of the clothes shown in the portrait of Hezekiah Parmalee, Jr., are nearer the style of 1805 than 1785.

Portraits by these men, untrained in the Academic tradition, have been named by certain writers "American Primitives," an appellation from which this critic wholeheartedly dissents, nor ever did Mr. Sherman call them such to our knowledge. The genesis of this designation would seem to be as follows: the wide interest in American portraits of the Colonial and early Republican period may be said to have begun around the turn of the century and, in the following twenty years, as the purchasable supply grew less, the dealers were hard put to fill the demand. So, someone invented a new category, which was dubbed "The American Primitive."

Webster's Dictionary defines "primitive," when applied to an artist, as those "of a period before the culminating development of his art." *The Century* adds the thought that to be primitive the object must have "something else of the same kind derived from it, but not itself derived from anything of the same kind."

Does anyone seriously contend that the work of the few artists painting here in the late XVII and early XVIII Centuries developed into the portraits of Copley or Stuart or that the work of our local painters developed into the "Moderns" which, in simplicity, they so much resemble? Our view is that the class of painters represented by Jennys are not "Primitives" in the primary sense, as their paintings were the work of untrained hands; the output mostly of local men — "Provincial," "Folk Painting," if a name must be given — but not the forerunners of any School. They had not the slightest intention of revolt against any accepted forms; no purpose of stressing "abstract qualities," "simplified mass" or painting to cause "emotional reaction"; they copied to the best of their ability the English Academic tradition then in fashion, and if their drawing was often faulty, their color and composition unsophisticated, it came from a lack of training rather than from design. The direct opposite of this point of view is ably presented by Jean Lipman in her current article, "American Primitive Portraiture, A Revaluation."¹ Mrs. Lipman also adds to the book under review an excellent appendix containing further attributions to the work of Richard Jennys. William and J. William Jennys, whom Mr. Sherman discovered and whose exact relationship to Richard has as yet not been found, are separately discussed and their portraits listed by Mr. Sherman in the body of the book.

¹*The Magazine ANTIQUES*, September, 1941

— JOHN HILL MORGAN

LE MAITRE DE FLEMALLE ET LES FRERES VAN EYCK. By Charles de Tolnay. Editions de la Connaissance, S. A., Bruxelles, 1939.

This is one of the most stimulating books ever published on the early masters of the Flemish School. It has the great distinction of being lucid without becoming trite, scholarly without being involved. The author is perfectly familiar with the vast literature on his subject but his book is anything but a compilation. In fact, some of his theses are rather startlingly new, as for instance when he ascribes with bold simplicity the center of the Ghent Altarpiece to Hubert, the wings to Jan van Eyck. In other

cases he reasserts with new emphasis half-forgotten theories like Dvorak's attribution to the almost legendary Dutch painter Aelbert Ouwater of the most prominent miniatures of the Turin-Milan prayerbook. The author's chief aim, however, seems to be to explain the genesis of the new style of the 15th century as an artistic manifestation of a mystical pantheism, breaking forth "spontaneously" in the Netherlands "as a natural reaction [against an earlier theology] of a love of nature." To this movement, Robert Campin — the Master of Flémalle — gave its earliest, dynamic and most influential expression, while it received a form of classic stabilization in the paintings of Jan van Eyck. Robert Campin hence emerges as the real "founder" of the early Flemish school. The works of Campin's "youth," according to Tolnay date from 1420-30; Campin was then 45-55 years old and had been a "master" for perhaps 20 years — a discrepancy which would seem to need some explanation.

While it is difficult to accept without reservations many of the author's assertions especially where they are put forth with too much certainty, one must be grateful for a book that has the courage to cut through the maze of intricate theories which have been built up in this particular field. With its wealth of information and its 166 excellent reproductions Tolnay's study will become an indispensable tool in any future research on the art of the van Eycks and the Master of Flémalle.

— JULIUS S. HELD

BOOKS RECEIVED

- BY THEIR WORKS. By *H. Phelps Clawson*. Buffalo, Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences, 1941. 260 pp., 107 plates, \$4.00.
- OLD CHICAGO HOUSES. By *John Drury*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1941. 497 pp., illus., \$4.00.
- HEART OF SPAIN. By *Georgiana Goddard King*. Edited by *Agnes Mongan*. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1941. 179 pp., 9 plates, \$3.00.
- LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE IN THE MODERN WORLD. By *Karl B. Lohmann*. Champaign, Ill., Garrard Press, 1941. 165 pp. text, 32 pp. plates.
- KUNSTHISTORISCHE STUDIEN. By *Fritz Schmalenbach*. Riehen Basel, Switzerland, A. Schudel & Co., 1941. 139 pp.
- UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA BICENTENNIAL CONFERENCE. STUDIES IN THE ARTS AND ARCHITECTURE. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1941. 113 pp., \$1.25.
- THE GEORGE GREY BARNARD COLLECTION. Catalogue by *Martin Weinberger*. New York, Robinson Galleries, 1941.

O L D M A S T E R S

NICHOLAS M. ACQUAVELLA

Old Masters . . . Of All Schools

38 East 57th St. New York City

A M E R I C A N A R T

BLAND GALLERY

HARRY MACNEILL BLAND

EARLY AMERICAN

Prints and Paintings

Early American and English Silver,
Chinese Porcelains & Objets d'Art

Fine Framing a Specialty

45 East 57th St. New York City

K L E E M A N N

HOMER

RYDER

EAKINS

HIGGINS

BROCKMAN

ORR

EILSHEMIUS

LEBDUSKA

38 East 57th St.

New York City

CONTEMPORARY
ARTS 38 WEST 57th St NEW YORK

Oncoming
Painters

Michaelsen Gallery

Established 1887

RARE AND FINE EARLY AMERICAN
LITHOGRAPHS, ENGRAVINGS AND
PAINTINGS BOUGHT AND SOLD

18 East 57th St.

New York City

N E W P U B L I C A T I O N S

RICHARD JENNYS: New England Portrait Painter

By the late Frederic Fairchild Sherman — With Appendix by Jean Lipman
Reproductions of all known portraits. Limited edition of 200 copies.

\$10.00

SHADES OF MY FOREFATHERS

By Hannah London — With notable silhouettes by Augustin Edouart and others
(Ready this fall) \$10.00

RARE HOOKED RUGS

By William Winthrop Kent — Critique by Hazel Boyer Braun
More than 300 illustrations. (Ready this fall)

\$5.00 After publication, \$6.50

THE POND-EKBERG COMPANY, Publishers, Springfield, Mass.

Readers are requested to mention ART IN AMERICA in communicating with advertisers

DUVEEN BROTHERS

OBJETS D'ART
PAINTINGS
PORCELAINS
TAPESTRIES

NEW YORK

PARIS

Readers are requested to mention ART IN AMERICA in communicating with advertisers

PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.
BY THE POND-EKBERG COMPANY
SPRINGFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS

